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HAROLD BENJAMIN, *Consulting Editor*

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION

A Revision of Community Backgrounds of Education

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A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION

*A Revision of Community Backgrounds
of Education*

BY

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A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EDUCATION

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To Our Colleagues
The Nation's Teachers

Therefore, go forth companion: when you find
No highway more, no track, all being blind
The way to go shall glimmer in the mind.

Though you have conquered Earth and charted Sea
And planned the course of all the Stars that be
Adventure on, more wonders are in Thee.

Adventure on, for from the littlest clue
Has come whatever worth man ever knew;
The next to lighten all men may be you. . . .

—JOHN MASEFIELD

PREFACE

It was William Graham Sumner who provided the classic example of what has happened to many authors. Well into a treatise on his general theory of society, he felt compelled to turn aside and deal with "the mores," resulting in his monumental *Folkways*. In one particular, something similar has happened to the present authors. At the start, the task was to revise *Community Backgrounds of Education*, and now, at the end, the volume has become a very different kind of book.

The present textbook differs from *Community Backgrounds of Education* in several ways. For one thing, it is a case book, a problems approach to social education, growing out of years of field work with schools and communities on their practical problems in human relations. While it has the community viewpoint of its predecessor, it has also a more systematic theory of our change from primary to secondary ways of living with the apparently inevitable problems of transition, cultural lags, and value conflicts. The book is not, however, a discussion of current social problems but rather a study of cooperative procedures for working on any kind of group problem.

The preceding reference to cooperative procedure implies the group-work, group-process or management, approach to learning problems in human relations and economic well-being, a way of working with people that is novel enough to warrant the attention of any sociologist who wants to make his knowledge of aid to educators. Other points of stress are social class (or class and power) in everyday life and education, plus a realistic concern to democratize and improve teaching practices at every educational level from the nursery through grade and high schools to college.

The present volume has been written to be read, to be read with interest and if possible with conviction. Chapter units have been tested out separately and in combination at several colleges and universities and in off-campus workshops for experienced teach-

ers and school heads. They have assumed their present form and sequence over a period of ten years; yet every classroom group is urged to make its own reorganization of these units. This is, we believe, a teachable book, especially if problems, projects, and readings accompanying each chapter are used.

Educational sociology is today, as it has been during its fifty-odd years of history, a problem child to education and sociology, the problem being to determine its growth lines and services. Continued use of the old *Community Backgrounds of Education* in both sociology and education leads us to believe that the community approach to teacher training meets a felt need. In fact we have shaped the present volume sharply toward the kinds of knowledge, values, skills, and judgment implicit in the "teacher-leader" tasks now emerging in school and community situations. Of course, the present approach is only one of several ways of dealing with problems of concern to school sociologists, problems found in such courses as social education, educational sociology, social foundations, and community backgrounds.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge our indebtedness, first, to the many students at college centers and in field projects who have furthered our ongoing reeducation, our changing perceptions of people. To Dean Waldo E. Lessenger, we are grateful for the continued encouragement at Wayne University to develop systematic work in educational sociology. We are grateful, for one reason or another, to W. W. Charters, Boyd Bode, Ralph W. Tyler, Karl W. Bigelow, and Howard R. Anderson. To sociologists, our indebtedness comes down from graduate-school days—to Robert E. Park, Frederick E. Lumley, Willard Waller, and Paul K. Hatt, formerly Associate Director of the College Study in Intergroup Relations. Were the volume not dedicated to our colleagues, the many kinds of teachers interested in life-centered education, we would inscribe it to the late Kurt Lewin. More than anyone, perhaps, he pioneered in the "action-research" technique of problem solving, an approach of great promise to school people.

LLOYD ALLEN COOK
ELAINE FORSYTH COOK

DETROIT, MICH.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
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PART I

VIEWPOINT AND APPROACH

1. A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH	3
Sense of Crisis. Our Loss of Core Values. Modern Scientific Sociology. Educational Sociology. Some Sample School Problems. Content Organization. A Brief Review. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
2. WHEN STUDENTS LEARN	23
Good Teaching in College. The Academic Pattern. Test Evidence of Learning. A Theory of Learning. Classroom Learning Patterns. An Outline for Course Planning. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	

PART II

THE COMMUNITY FRAME OF LIFE

3. NATURE OF COMMUNITY	47
Meaning of Community. Community Characteristics. The Hollow Folk: A Case Study. Folk Life and Culture. Community and Related Concepts. Number of Communities. Types of Communities. A Plan of Community Study. Student Community Backgrounds. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
4. HAMLETS, VILLAGES AND TOWNS	70
Plainville: Present and Future. Who Are the Village People? The Village Community. The Social Class System. Institutions and Services. The Need for Local-Regional Planning. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	
5. THE SMALL CITY COMMUNITY	96
Yankee City: A Case Study. The Caste-Class Hypothesis. The Idea of Stratification. Dynamics in the Class System. Notes on Teaching Social Class. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.	

6. **THE LARGER URBAN COMMUNITY** 122
 Middletown: An Urban Way of Life. The City in Our Corporate Life. The Local Power System. Community Membership. Participation and "Community Spirit." Community Organization. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
7. **THE GREAT METROPOLIS** 151
 Chicago: An Overview. The Outlook for City Growth. Big City Origins and Structure. Urban Life and Personality. The Metropolis as a Community. Anomie and Solidarité. In Retrospect. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
8. **UNITY-DISUNITY, CHANGE, AND PLANNING** 177
 Unity-Disunity: Impressions. Spread of Urbanism. From Primary to Secondary Ways of Living. Theories of Unity-Disunity. A Conception of Community Unity. Community Planning. Need for a Review. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

PART III

COMMUNITY, CHILD, AND SCHOOL

9. **SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS** 201
 How Schools Relate Themselves to Communities. Partners in Production: A Community School. Types of Community Relations. Small-town and Big-city Environments. Social Pressures on the Schools. Viewpoints toward Power and Its Uses. Zones of School Action. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
10. **A THEORY OF CHILD SOCIALIZATION** 225
 Acculturation: Case Studies. A Theory of Child Socialization. Bases of Role Ascription. Learning Role Content. Development of Group Behavior. Impersonal Societal Influences. Socialization and the School. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
11. **SOCIAL CLASS IN THE SCHOOL** 248
 Youth in and about the Schools. Concept of Educability. Educability in Average Schools. School's Attitude toward Social Class. Control of Class Biases. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
12. **TOWARD LIFE-CENTERED SCHOOLING** 272
 The Community School Idea. Clarifying Intended Meanings. The School as a Holding Institution. The Plight of Youth. A Philosophy of Life-centered Learning. Influences of Dewey and Hart. In Summary. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

PART IV

WAYS OF WORKING ON SCHOOL PROBLEMS

13. CHANGING SCHOOL PROGRAMS 291
Changing a Course of Study. Staff Approach to School Changes. Cooperative School Changes: Pupils, Parents, and Teachers. Analysis of Cases. Group-work in Education. Groups in Everyday Life. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
14. GROUP DYNAMICS IN THE SCHOOL 313
Leader Roles and "Group Atmospheres." Changing Group Structure. Human Relations in the School. Group-work Methods. Improving Group-work Output. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
15. CONTROL OF DELINQUENT GANGS 349
Child Personality Development. From Petty Misconduct to Adult Crime. Delinquency, a Point of View. Community Prevention and Control. Control of a Delinquent Gang. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
16. USING COMMUNITY RESOURCES 374
Resource Uses: Some Examples. Educational Resources: a Point of View. Taking the School into the Community. Bringing the Community into the School. Values in Resource Use. Organizing a Resource-use Program. Solving Study-making Problems. A Note on Reading Material. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.
17. SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY COORDINATION 401
An Example of Area-wide Cooperation. Origins of Cooperative Action. Nature of Social Problems. Structure of Community Action. Processes of Social Action. The Coordinating Council. Status Research versus Action Research. Resolving Social Conflict. The Leader Role. The Problem of Risk Calculation. In Summary. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

PART V

IMPROVING TEACHER EDUCATION

18. THE TEACHER IN THE COMMUNITY 429
The Teacher's Community Contacts. The Selective Process. Community Life of Teachers: A National Survey. The Teacher's Change of Positions. Social Attitudes toward Teachers. Teacher Participation in Community Life. School and Community Pressures. Con-

duct Codes. Teacher Reactions to Community Controls. Reactions and Interpretations. The Teacher as a Stranger. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

19. CAMPUS CULTURE AND LEARNING 458

Centers of Campus Living. The College: An Interpretation. College and Community. Student Assimilation. Contrasting Student Types. Improving Campus Learnings. Need for Faculty Guidance. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

20. DEVELOPING TEACHER-LEADER SKILLS 484

Educational Sociology. Functions of the School Sociologist. A Review of the Course. Group Study in Teacher Education. Skill Training in Sociodrama. School Staff Relations. A Test of Fitness. Problems and Projects. Selected Readings.

INDEX 507

PART I
VIEWPOINT AND METHOD

CHAPTER 1

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

An impressive fact of the times is change—rapid, progressive, confusing change. Change has always been of prime concern to people because of its effect in creating social problems. This is as true in education as in any other aspect of community life, for public schools are life-centered institutions. To put the thought more clearly, school problems of greatest importance to the nation are not the problems of the school in any narrow, technical definition. They are *the problems of our society* as it muddles through one conflict after another, the landmarks of successive crises in its history. They are problems of all institutions—industry, the church, business, government, family, and civic organizations. They are problems of social direction, of individual motivation, of scientific knowledge, and of effective group action.

The present volume is a study of these problems as they confront prospective school teachers. It is intended as a textbook in educational sociology, a field reviewed in the final chapter and one that is growing rapidly in importance. It is written for use in courses that go by different titles—social foundations of education, educational sociology, social education, school and society, community relations, and the like. It is an effort to apply the ways of thinking, the systematic theories and study techniques, of modern scientific sociology to human relations in and about the school. The approach is via the kinds of communities which, *in toto*, form the nation's localistic ways of life.

It is the purpose of the present chapter to orient the reader, to deal with foundational elements which will be discussed in detail as the story develops. The second chapter in Part I focuses on learning problems in college classrooms, the ways in which an effective educational approach can be made to the life-centered schooling with which the volume is concerned.

SENSE OF CRISIS

It has been said that a happy people have no history, and so with a well-working way of life. Our way of living we call a democracy, and, while no better system is in sight, it is not working well for masses of people. "There is in America," wrote Laski¹ even as the nation was pulling itself out of its worst depression, "a wider disillusionment with democracy, a greater skepticism about popular institutions, than at any other period in its history." Since then, to win a war and maintain a peace, we have had to look more closely at our way of living, its present strengths and vast potentials. We have looked, too, at its need-meeting functions, its guarantees of securities and freedoms for all people, and it is here we feel the nation's loss of essential unity.

While we shall not review the facts about this viewpoint, a glance at any newspaper, a few minutes at any newscast will give confirming evidence. Symptoms of ill-being, of unrest and disunity, are well known—threats of war, strikes, race conflicts, political bickering, racketeering, interagency squabbles, suicide rates, a ceaseless flow of inanities such as flagpole sitting. It can be argued that this is an unfair mirror of public affairs, that news is by definition a distorted picture of reality, and of course this is true. But when will war no longer be an imminent possibility? When will industrial conflict cease? When will our minority peoples have full citizen rights? When will everyone have reasonable economic sufficiency? We do not dream of Utopia. The point is simply that our democracy, like democracies everywhere, has unfinished business, business that cannot wait.

OUR LOSS OF CORE VALUES

To the sociologist, the present situation is a crisis in human relations, in social order, in the faith that people must have in people in order to make living possible. Every society is, in essence, *a system of relations* binding all its members together, binding the living with the dead and the unborn. Every society

¹ Harold J. Laski, *Democracy in Crisis*, p. 47, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1935.

has had to face the problem of change and continuity, unity and disunity, conflict and cooperation. A democracy in particular, in contrast, say, to a fascist state, is bound to find the going difficult. In everyday affairs, it seems forever to be breaking down and forever, we hope, being saved by the resourcefulness of its people, by their ability to size up a situation and institute action.

Sociologists formulate our disunity in various ways. For example, after an exhaustive canvass of American society, Angell² comes to the following conclusion:

COMMON GOOD VS. SPECIAL INTERESTS

In general, the picture is one of a differentiated society whose parts have been so disconnected that few organs speak in terms of the whole. . . . If our gravest problems are to be solved at all, they must be solved in terms of common values. . . . The danger is that in the struggle of opposing programs, the loyalty to common values will be lost, that class struggle will degenerate into class war. Then men would come to deny the principles of democracy in the interest of programs aimed to benefit particular classes.

Angell's approach was a group approach, that is, he studied the conflict of group with group in every area of our common life, finding that society was fracturing into special interests, that these power groupings were growing at the expense of the public good, that the day was approaching when not enough unity would be left for common action.

Linton's value analysis represents much the same point of view. Our culture, he holds, consists of two basic parts, a "solid, well-integrated and fairly stable core," and a "fluid, largely unintegrated zone" surrounding the core.³ Core values are called "universals" in the sense that everybody accepts them as foundational to the social order, whereas peripheral values, or "alternatives," are "traits shared by some members of a society but not by all." They are free-choice values, things you like and I do not or vice versa. They have their origin in "individual peculiarities," in

² Robert C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society*, p. 215, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1941. Used by permission.

³ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 282-284, Appleton-Century, New York, 1936.

the beliefs and behaviors of some person. As these values win a following, they pass into the zone of alternatives, meaning that they are held by a number of people, after which if they continue to grow in popularity they may move on into the core area.

VALUE CONFLICT AND DISUNITY ⁴

When a culture is changing rapidly, as our own at present, the alternatives may become so numerous that they overshadow the universals. . . . Each new trait, as soon as it is accepted by any part of society, draws certain traits which were formerly universals . . . out of the core into the fluid zone. As the content of the core is reduced, the culture increasingly loses pattern and coherence.

Such a fluid, disorganized condition within a culture has repercussions upon the society which bears it. It is the common adherence of a society's members to the elements which form the core of their culture which makes it possible for them to function as a society. Without a wide community of ideas and habits, the members of a group will not react to particular stimuli as a unit, nor will they be able to cooperate effectively.

Our way of life is highly dynamic, more dynamic perhaps than any other culture now or in history. The trend of movement is away from the core, not toward it, with alternative ways of doing things, of thinking and feeling, replacing common values. Life becomes an array of models on which to pattern, an encampment of interest groupings, each living by recruitment of members. In Linton's judgment, "we are rapidly approaching the point where there will no longer be enough items on which all members of society agree to provide the culture with form and pattern." We are drifting toward the point of no return.

Our loss of core values, or simply our disunity, is regarded by most writers as due to the direction and rapidity of social change, especially to the kind of change known as urbanization. Time was, for example, when a person who walked out of his house on an errand knew everyone he met by name, occupation, history, and the like. Today, in cities he walks into a world of strangers, people he does not know, indeed may not care to know. At an ever-accelerated tempo, our group life and human relations are

⁴ *Ibid.* Used by permission.

changing from the intimate give-and-take of the *primary community* to the impersonal, utilitarian contacts of the *secondary community*, and therein, we believe, is to be found the causes of most current social problems. Here, too, are the "lags" observable in our basic institutions, including the school. We have been unable to keep up with changes, to close the gap between reality and our expectations of what life should be.

MODERN SCIENTIFIC SOCIOLOGY

To one who has not kept pace with modern scientific sociology, the only sound advice would be to read the type of book listed in the chapter bibliography. We have no hope of making clear the nature of so complex a discipline; yet perspective is needed in order to understand educational sociology.

Sociology is not socialism, communism, social welfare, or philosophy. It is not a stump to preach any doctrine, a panacea for any ill. It is a social science, with all that this implies, and it implies a great deal.

NATURE OF SOCIOLOGY⁵

Sociology is at once a field of study, a point of view, a set of methods, and a body of knowledge. Its major problems are found in the processes of daily living, the behaviors of people in groups. Its viewpoint is the attitude of any science, fair dealing with facts in search for truth. Its methods are the increasingly objective ways of understanding what things are like, how they behave, what they do, the test of which is prediction with the ultimate aim of control. Its knowledge is the cumulative insight over time in all these areas, the organized concepts and principles relating to man's group life, his cultural world and personality development.

Above all, a sociologist wants to know the nature of social order, the factors that disrupt it, the conditions that give it precise form and meaning. Like any scientist, he sets himself outside the processes under study, searching for their uniformities. His purpose is not to invent order in man's collective life but to discover it, to understand it so well that he can give correct appraisals of its nature and worth.

⁵ Lloyd Allen Cook and Stuart A. Queen, "The Role of Sociology," in F. L. Burdette (Ed.), *Educating for Citizen Responsibilities*, pp. 103-119, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1942.

Like other scientific folk, for example, nuclear physicists, sociologists are by no means in full agreement as to the essential nature of their field.⁶ For us, a simple diagram will suffice, a pinpointing of concepts which can be rightly criticized as an oversimplification.

The center of sociological interest is, in our opinion, *social action*, the round of life in a community, the behaviors of people in any institution such as the school. No behavior of any kind, not even a ball game, can be intelligible to an observer unless he knows what people are trying to do, the ends, goals, or *values* which they seek. Social action builds *personality*, the varied

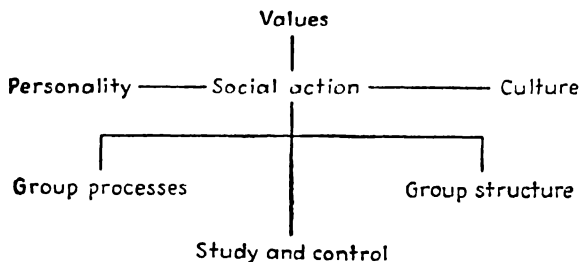


Fig. 1. A schematic conception of modern sociology.

roles one plays in groups, and it creates *culture*, the social heritage of a people. Social action, in its most significant expression, involves *group processes*, the ordinary behaviors found in conflict, cooperation, socialization, and the like. As these processes crystallize and pass into the culture, they are regarded as *group structure*, the network of interests, rules, expectations, and the like which bind people together in an action unit. Next are the ideas of *group study and control*, indicative of sociological interest in the understanding and management of social behavior.

Around all these concepts one should draw a circle, showing that these ideas *in toto* form an organic whole, a *social system*. A classroom, for example, is a social system; so with a school, a family, the community, or society at large. The meaning is that each bit of reality, whether great or small, can be studied as an

⁶See Gwynne Nettler, "Toward a Definition of the Sociologist," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (1947), 553-560.

interactive unit, a pattern of action, value, structure, and so on. It is influenced by other social patterns, by the geographic environment, by man's organic nature and psychological characteristics.

All sociologists would say that a blueprint of this sort can be used to study a social system of any kind. They would not agree on the next question: Why make a study at all? To some, the end of study making is a picture of reality, a contribution to basic knowledge. Others, while accepting this goal, hold also to a second value, the use of science to advance human welfare, in our country to further democratic ideals. They would argue, possibly, that science is a three-stage process, that any study will show a beginning, a middle, and an end. At the beginning, in the selection of a problem, and at the end, in application of findings, moral values can and should prevail. In the middle, the entire data working process, one's only loyalty is to truth, his only guide the rituals of his science. Educational sociology is, as we conceive it, an *applied science*, following this latter point of view.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

Educational sociology is not old. In 1907, Henry Suzzallo gave what has been called the first course in the field, and in 1917 Walter R. Smith published the first text so named. In 1927, the *Journal of Educational Sociology* was started, followed by *Social Education* in 1936. In recent years, studies and books have appeared in number, with research catalogued at three-year intervals (1940, 1943, 1946, 1949) in the *Review of Educational Research*. "Currently," writes W. W. Charters,⁷ "a new group of sociologists is coming into the school, scrutinizing its problems . . . and new materials on community analysis are being integrated in the training program for teachers."

Whatever educational sociology is, and definitions vary, its essential character derives from sociology. To us, in years of work with school and community groups, educational sociology is the *application of sociological knowledge and technique to educa-*

⁷ In W. C. Reavis (Ed.), *The School and the Urban Community*, p. 168, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942.

tional problems in the field of human relations and material well-being. Our concern has been with the total educative process in school and outside, wherever people learn, and our business has been the practical one of helping them solve issues which interfere with the achievement of group goals. It has been to bring insight on group life situations, to advance in season and out what we shall call group-process education in field programs and in classroom teaching.

Since this definition orients the volume, it would seem to merit some attention. Obviously, the book will carry a field-work slant; in fact it has been written as a *case approach to group-work problems*. In the second place, the definition has a community orientation, for one works with people somewhere and spatial culture is always important. Third, while educational sociology is, for the most part, an applied social science, this conception does not prevent it from making contributions to knowledge. Finally, since problem solving always implies directional values, we must admit a concern for the preservation and enrichment of democratic ways of living.

Time and again, in concrete cases, we shall return to a previous point, the unity-disunity apparent in community life and the conflict between our professed ideals and the actual functioning of specific individuals and social groupings. We have made no effort to catalogue these professed values, for example, free speech, equal opportunity, individual initiative, for they have the ring in their classic form of so many slogans. On the contrary, we have focused in case materials on problems for which some group sought an answer, thus showing value clashes in the forms they really take rather than as abstractions. Our concern is the extent to which democratic values guide us in school life.

SOME SAMPLE SCHOOL PROBLEMS

School problems are, as was said, the problems of our social order; hence they are extremely variable. In general, they show the disorder of our society in its ongoing change from primary to secondary ways of living, a frame of reference which we shall develop in later connections. In presenting a random sample of case materials, we caution against any sweeping generalization.

Cases are neither complete nor representative. They are meant only to suggest a few problem areas, a quick "look see" on the earth level of efforts schools are making to adapt to changing times and changing conditions.

One type of school problem involves life-maintenance issues, the things people need for survival at or near a comfort level. No time will be taken in these brief sketches to detail the actual shaping up of school programs, the social backgrounds, and lines of reasoning that have been followed in problem solving.

AT PINE MOUNTAIN

On the south side of Pine Mountain near Harlan, Kentucky, there is a school for 'teen-age boys and girls within a 20-mile radius. Cabin homes and tiny coal-camp settlements are scattered thinly up the hollows, and six one- or two-teacher schools serve the area. While the birth rate is high and young children much in evidence, not many of them ever complete the upper grades and few indeed go to high school. In New York, the per capita cost of schooling is over \$180, and in some Ohio suburban towns over \$300, but at Pine Mountain and in similar areas it is less than \$25. It is hard for people to make a living, much less to support good schools.

Pine Mountain is, in a sense, more than a school. It is a semi-self-contained community devoted to the task of teaching cooperation as a way of living. Organized somewhat on the Antioch "work, study, play" plan, young people live in small cottages, which they in part furnish and help to manage. They work on the land, at the barns, in kitchens, and elsewhere in small intimate groups, and classroom studies are related to the things they are doing, the life they will live outside of school. For example, most schools have some kind of "store" for the sale of school supplies, candies, etc., but here this service has been built into a Rochdale "co-op," with stock sold at low cost to the students. To some extent, the co-op serves the surrounding area as well as the school community. Students shop for commodities at a trading center some miles distant or order direct from wholesalers. They package goods, display, and market them. They attend to banking, pay bills, and figure profits. A number of school subjects, for example mathematics, art, and social studies, have been related to this and to other "life-centered" projects, so that schooling is a realistic experience in everyday living.

The idea of group work, group thought and action, permeates every

course of study. For example, in a course on social civics, the textbook was planned, written, and printed by students. It starts with a sketch map of the locality and turns then to an earlier time when each settler was his own food getter, protector, doctor, and the like. Thought centers on the present day, the difference between "then and now." The central problem of the course is to determine how, in the present complex world, Pine Mountain people can "meet their needs" today and in the future. One class wrote and printed a booklet on consumer economics of which more than a thousand copies have been distributed.

Cooperation flows over into the school's community services. Health and medical care are prime needs in the area. Older students tramp up and down the hollows, helping with the sick and aged, teaching simple medical knowledge, assisting in cooking and canning, building an outhouse, campaigning for insect and rodent control. Other students work in the understaffed elementary schools, helping teachers with lessons, preparing hot lunches, directing group play, teaching bodily care and mental hygiene. Pine Mountain, like all isolated upland areas, has a rich heritage of balladry, square and round dancing, handicrafts, music, and storytelling. Under school guidance, much of this heritage has been revived, revalued, and taught to the young. Often an elder, dead set in opposition to "newfangled ways," is much surprised to learn that his ancient skills are valued, that he is needed as a teacher.

THE HOLTVILLE SCHOOL

A few miles north of Montgomery, Alabama, there is one of the most interesting schools in the nation. This is the Holtville Consolidated School, an unimpressive cluster of small buildings around a bigger structure. Elmore County is not a land of milk and honey, wealth and erudition. It is an old but changing Southern scene—a friendly, virile people, eroded and depleted soil, dominant one-crop cotton farming, low level of living, high rate of tenancy, health imbalances, economic need, and a vision of something much better in the future. About five hundred children attend the high school, if attendance describes their participation in its highly functional, life-related program.

The Holtville program had its beginning more than a decade ago. "The school's one great aim," said its new principal on taking office, "was to improve living conditions in this rural area." An initial community survey, made with the help of two professors in a nearby teachers college, showed a number of disturbing things. For instance, a

fourth of the meat butchered by farmers was lost through improper preservation, fruits for anything like the year around were unknown, little milk was used, and almost all the vegetables consumed were shipped into the area. Worse still, there was no evidence that schooling had made the slightest difference in the life patterns of the people.

Many schools have uncovered facts of this sort, but few have made such far-reaching changes as were undertaken at Holtville. First, a canning outfit was secured from the state, which had abandoned canning as a depression relief measure. A building project was approved by a Federal school-aid agency, giving employment to some forty local out-of-school "spit-and-whittle" youngsters. Still short of the funds needed, a farmer mortgaged his land and chattels to secure a loan of \$7,500, payable by the school at the rate of \$1,000 a year, and thus "a cannery" came into being.

In annual evaluations, the Holtville program gives every evidence of being a success. For example, at one period in its history, schooling revolved about the meat and vegetable cannery, a cold-storage plant, a 20-acre farm, a dental clinic, a beauty shop, an auto and tractor repair shop, a home electric and plumbing service, a tree nursery, chick hatchery, movie show, town and school newspaper. The school plant was open the year around, with children and parents coming early and staying late. Although a college-preparatory curriculum was offered, most subjects were thoroughly adapted to the community-service concept of school functions. In chemistry classes, for instance, students analyzed simple commercial compounds. They mixed and sold at cost such commodities as soap, tooth paste, shoe polish, and paint.

Running records have been kept of the school's community services. In a sample year, the meat-storage plant served 205 families, curing some 40,000 pounds of meat. The cannery enabled 104 families to store 8,350 cans of vegetables and fruits. The chick hatchery had more than 100 farmer customers, selling 23,000 tested chicks. During the year, about 600 acres of land were contour-plowed and over 100,000 pine and peach trees planted. In one week of that winter, 153 games were checked out of the school's "rental library" and played at home by 679 persons. Counts on newspapers, farm journals, radios, etc., showed substantial quarter-year increases, a change traceable to the school. All in all, as a farmer said, "This school is kinda different. It does for kids what parents can't do."

College entrance work, it should be added, is not neglected. In the

year surveyed, 10 of the 61 seniors went to college, and two of these won scholarships in a state-wide, every-pupil test.

Schools like these are moving toward a more practical education, a *life-centered set of functions*. They raise many questions in one's mind, the most basic being the essential nature of public schooling. An incident might help in suggesting a tentative point of view. Unable to sit through the Holtville case, a student broke in with: "Well, Professor, what in heaven's name is education?" The answer that children cannot learn if they are hungry, that they must be fed if learning is to go on was not satisfactory to him. What about college-entrance requirements? Here two counterqueries seemed in order: Is education for life or for college? If its central focus is on life, does that keep high-school graduates from going to college?

Having told one story, we feel the need for another. One day at the Jay City High School, Jay City, Kansas, a farmer's truck came bouncing over the rutted schoolyard. It carried a hand-lettered placard: "Repaired by the Industrial Arts Students," etc. At a faculty meeting, the writer asked how many trucks were fixed each year. When a number was given, a different sort of answer was requested. At first puzzled, someone soon replied: "Why, as many as need fixing." This was, indeed, a complete answer, a summed-up philosophy of school functions. But the reply could have tapped another stream of thought, a view that distinguishes between a garage and an educational institution. A school might fix as many trucks as were needed for systematic learning. The issue may seem small, but it is important if, as we believe, the function of all educational institutions is to educate, to diffuse and advance knowledge. Of course, crises do arise, for example, repairing trucks or feeding children, but these are emergency functions, not continuing school responsibilities.

Cases have dealt with material needs, a prime prerequisite for life in both rural and urban disadvantaged areas. But our society throws up problems of another sort, those involving the ways people treat people. Since space is limited, we shall do sampling in this area, omitting all way stops between these two basic types of school problems.

A SCHOOL WITHOUT A NAME

Near Cleveland, Ohio, a two-teacher school has set out to create a feeling of community in an open-country area. The settlement has no name, being called the "corner," the "center," the "bus stop," and so on. Sixty first- to eighth-grade pupils attend the school, half from the homes of small farmers who work their land and half from the families of business and professional people who have moved into the district but work in the city. During the school's first three years of existence, its greatest problem has been to integrate the children from these very different social levels.

The above problem dates back to a difficult first-year situation. Encouraged by parents on either side of the line, pupils reached successive stages of teasing, name calling, clique rivalry, and gang fights. City and country parents did not associate freely, blaming the two teachers for the ill will which they, themselves, had created. At one time, immigrant parents united in an effort to secure the dismissal of the senior teacher, a woman seeking even then to bridge the gap between the two adult groups.

At a workshop for county teachers, this problem was made the object of serious study. This plan and that had been tried without success, although neither teacher felt the situation to be hopeless. Among the suggestions made for integrating the rural and "urban" children, the idea of a garden club seemed most promising. With spring approaching, gardening would be high in interest value. It could be initiated at the school and, possibly, spread into homes on either side of the line. More important, the project should build prestige for rural pupils, a prime requisite for any effective action. In theory, farm children should know a great deal about plants and soils, pests and sprays. They could help city-reared children learn about these things of concern to them.

When the garden-club idea was tried out with a few lower grade pupils, it created definite interest. Shortly older children wanted to make a school garden, and presently the activity spread into some homes. Before school ended in June, two parent meetings on gardening were held at the school, with ideas advanced and accepted from either side of the line. Intergroup relations were notably less tense, and the way has been paved for more involved cooperative projects. A current interest is to give the settlement a name, and children strongly favor the name of the senior teacher whose dismissal had once been proposed.

BUILDING A COMMUNITY THROUGH THE SCHOOL

Just outside the city limits of Detroit, the Elmwood Township School faced a most difficult community building project. The school, a small but ultramodern section-type building, stands on barren land, without walks, shrubbery, playgrounds, and the like. Last year, it added the ninth grade, and it will continue adding grades as its students advance until the eleventh grade is reached. Students will go by bus to Detroit high schools for their final year, a fact that pleases some parents and displeases others.

While a few families run to extremes of wealth and poverty, most of the homes scattered about in the subdivision are roughly lower middle class. There is no business center but rather an occasional filling station, two general stores, two taverns, a small church, and a few personal-service establishments.

On accepting appointment to the school, the principal knew fairly well the kinds of problems the district would face. For example, efforts to push a building program, to add staff members, put in athletics, start a guidance service would take money, hence require higher taxes and meet public opposition. His general idea was not to try to do each of these things separately, to argue for each in turn, although he has assumed from the start the area's ability to finance better schooling for its children. His procedure has been to use the school as an instrument for defining area needs and arousing public support. In this process, people have come to think about the "community," its limitations and possibilities, and of the school as a center of community living.

Shortly after school started, the principal initiated an area survey. Most families owned their home, two-thirds had moved in during the past five years, three-fourths had children in the school, and less than 10 per cent belonged to any group meeting in the district. Almost all had moved in from Detroit, one reason being "to find good schools," but only 2 per cent indicated a willingness to pay higher tax rates. Whatever social ties in the city these people had, for example, church, lodge, and club membership, they planned to keep, thus indicating the direction of their major civic interests.

With these facts known, the school arranged a series of evening meetings. When people had no place to sit, the need for an auditorium was plainly evident. When a newly formed women's club could no longer meet in homes, it was moved to the school. When several high-school boys transferred to a city school to play football, the area contributed

\$500 for an athletic field and bleachers. When it became known that young people were frequenting nearby taverns, a movement arose for school parties. When parents complained of the way children acted at home, a parent club was organized and meetings were held on conduct problems. When it was said that the area had no "community spirit," a civic club sprang up and was welcomed by the school.

Most of these moves have encountered some opposition, and yet, withal, the school staff is much encouraged. The school-board is stronger in support of the school program than it has ever been; instruction is better coordinated; parents know one another by name and feel a sense of unity. The approach has been slow and indirect, an evolving process rather than a high-pressure campaign for immediate objectives. As the community builds itself, it will build its school, and otherwise little progress seems possible. It will take time to do this, as local leaders see the problem, but the principal is a patient man. He has time to watch seeds grow, once they are well planted.

THE WELLS HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM

On the "near north side" in Chicago, and operating under adverse conditions, is the Wells High School. Three-fourths of the area residents are foreign-born, chiefly Polish and Italian. A school survey showed that a fifth of the parents of school children had no formal education and two-thirds had about a sixth-grade schooling. A great many mothers worked, and most workers, male and female, were employed in factories and domestic service. Over two-thirds of the homes were stove heated, and few had modern household conveniences. On most indexes of community disorganization, for example delinquency and desertion, area rates were very high. Homeownership was low, and there was much in- and out-migration.

Like most large urban schools, Wells has had no great freedom to adapt its program to area conditions. In spite of limitations, significant changes have been made. The central aim has been to meet the needs of a heterogeneous, non-college-going student body, as these needs could be inferred from continuous studies of social changes and youth problems. Curriculum fields have been conceived as "functions of living" and grouped into seven large categories: work, social relations, health, thought and communication, leisure, economic consciousness, ethical and spiritual character. While courses of study are still some-

what subject-centered, they are taught in such a way as to contribute to the developmental tasks facing high-school students.

Work, or rather economic education, can be taken as an example of the Wells program. In the ninth grade, in several courses, the development of elemental work skills is a central objective. In the tenth grade, stress is on understanding urban industries and businesses, and in the eleventh grade on the contributions of science to the nation's industrial progress. In the senior year, each student plans a life career which includes a vocation. From the ninth grade on, out-of-school work experiences are integrated with courses of study so that they contribute to classroom learnings.

The same general procedure is followed in respect to social relations, health, leisure, and so on. Each student works out with his adviser a plan for the summer, involving a job, leisure pursuits, health needs, etc., and he checks over his experiences with the adviser in the fall. Classes spend a fair amount of time in group planning, group activities, and appraisals. Student groups manage a large number of school enterprises, handling several thousand dollars a year. A novel "school for leaders," under the auspices of the senior class, provides over half the graduating class with a series of experiences in leading area youth and adult groups. Evidence is cited to show that these young people identify themselves more readily with community causes and movements.

DOWAGIAC'S COMMUNITY COUNCIL

Dowagiac is a county-seat town, not far from Benton Harbor, Michigan. It serves a typical Middle States farming area, and its schools have an enviable reputation. A few years ago, the school-board took an action that few boards then or now would approve. Faced with a critical "youth problem," board members met with school, church, and agency representatives to talk it over. The upshot was the creation of a long-range "community plan," including a community coordinating council. A full-time director of the council was appointed, with two-thirds of his salary paid by the schools from funds secured under the Federal George-Deen Act.

At no time in its life has the coordinating council been "just another community organization." On the contrary, it has functioned as a representative assembly of school people, church leaders, agency heads, farmer groups, and others who were interested in youth problems. Aside from starting a much-needed "youth center," the council has seldom undertaken any project of its own. It has rather, by channel-

izing good will and coordinating resources, sought to eliminate agency duplications and area neglects in meeting youth needs and expanding youth services. It has been a facilitating body, a clearinghouse for ideas and organizer of cooperative action. While no formal evaluation has ever been made, the Dowagiac Council is credited with a number of impressive achievements.

Incomplete as these cases are, they show to students better than abstractions the kinds of field-work problems to which educational sociology is devoted, problems of physical well-being, social relations, group life and learning, whatever the concrete forms they may take. Pending further study, it would be wrong to label the viewpoint in these cases as any kind of "anti-intellectualism" in education. On the contrary, systematic knowledge of society is implied, for otherwise *good doing will prove even harder than it is to do.*

CONTENT ORGANIZATION

This volume is not a hodgepodge bit of work but, we believe, an organized presentation, a systematic line of thought. Following a two-chapter introduction, several chapters are given to a description of American community life, its localistic patterns, changes, and problems. Part III centers on the community, the child, and the school, stressing in particular a theory of child socialization and social class biases in the average school. In Part IV, the view shifts to social-action problems, the ways and means of changing school programs and improving schoolwork through group processes. As elementary as these group-work techniques may be, they give the book some novelty as a text in social education. Part V, the concluding section, continues with teacher education at the point where the introductory chapters stopped, including the teacher's out-of-school life, campus learnings, and the basic problem of developing teacher-leader skills.

A BRIEF REVIEW

For most students, an introductory chapter is always a problem. In part, the fault is the author's, for too much may be attempted, the pattern of thought sketched in pretty thin. In part the fault is due to the social situation, the confusion inev-

itable in getting a course started. We want now to safeguard student thinking by some repetition of central points.

First off, we disclaim any crusader role. We want better teachers in our schools, hence want to study what that means from the standpoint of a school sociologist. At times, for instance, discussion will center on the "community school," a useful concept if one remembers that all education is an organic whole. Moreover, no education dare grow tribalistic in the present ever-expanding world. Put in positive terms, our concern is with public education, with social learning wherever it may occur.

Schools have always been interested in the local community, the life outside their doors. In recent times, some schools have been giving community study a basic importance, making it foundational in their curricular program, in guidance and personnel work, in adult education and public relations. It is this move toward more organic school-community interaction that we want to follow, to study and improve. Because of space limitations, it has been impossible to treat every large problem area with which a book of this sort should deal, a legitimate criticism of our work.

Finally, the book has not tried to set academic jargon before inert students, to be "learn'd and conn'd by rote." Where concepts are used, and of course their use is imperative, they are employed as analytical tools. The stress, therefore, is on reflective thinking, on how does this or that problem look to a reader and how study-action might be started on it. Content has grown out of field experience, showing we believe some of the advances made in educational sociology since the days of its origins.

Problems and Projects

1. What is meant by saying that the "problems of the school are the problems of our society"? Would you agree that the latter problems might be classified as issues in (a) human relations and (b) physical maintenance and well-being? Illustrate each type of problem.

2. Use a single sentence in which you show the basic relations of three key concepts: values, unity, and change. State your personal reaction to Linton's theory of value analysis.

3. Make a ~~class report~~ report on Gwynne Nettler, "Toward a Definition of

a Sociologist," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (October, 1947), 553-560. Compare Nettler's idea of sociology with that advanced in the chapter.

4. How many members of your present class have had one course in sociology? Two? More than two? If you feel your own background to be limited, draw a standard textbook from the library and read parts of interest to you. Illustrative texts are

Kingsley Davis *et al.*, *Modern American Society*, 1949.

E. T. Hiller, *Principles of Sociology*, 1933.

William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, 1946.

Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, *Introductory Sociology*, 1940.

Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, 1949.

Kimball Young, *Sociology*, 1942.

5. What is educational sociology? You may want to scan the final chapter in this volume in answering this question.

6. Do you like short, concrete cases such as the ones given in the present chapter? What do you like about them? Take some one case, and tell what more about it you would like to know.

7. Was your high school like any of the cases in the chapter? Write a short paper to be handed in, telling what your high school was really like, its strong and weak points.

8. Read again the section in the chapter called "A Brief Review," and then turn to the volume's Table of Contents. Can you "see through" the entire book, that is, understand the author's plan? Would you care now to rearrange chapters, making your own plan?

9. One concept we shall use a great deal is the idea of *human relations*. Make a brief class report or plan a panel discussion in class on human relations as presented in one or two of the following selections:

"Education and Human Relations," article by Ben S. Morris in *Journal of Social Issues*, 3 (Spring, 1947), 42-50.

"Human Relations in the Family," Margaret Redfield, *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (1946), 175-183.

"Frontiers in Human Relations," Kurt Lewin, in *Human Relations*, 1 (1947), 5-41.

"Human Relations in Restaurant Work," William F. Whyte, *Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1948.

10. Compare the conception of educational sociology which you now hold with the "sociological foundations" of education as discussed by Harold Rugg, *Foundations for American Education* (1947).

11. Often students or a whole class would like to know from an author if there are any supplementary textbooks that might be brought and used throughout a course in connection with the text. While we know of no volume that covers the field of the present writing, these books will prove helpful:

Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior*, Dryden, New York, 1949.

James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*. Harper, New York, 1948.

David Kreeh and R. S. Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1948.

Selected Readings

Angell, Robert C.: *The Integration of American Society*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1941.

Bossard, James H. S.: *The Sociology of Child Development*, Chap. II, "The Sociological Approach to Child Behavior," Harper, New York, 1948.

Brookover, W. B.: "Sociology of Education: A Definition," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (June, 1949), 407-415.

Brown, Francis J.: *Educational Sociology*, Chap. III, "The Interaction Approach," Prentice-Hall, New York, 1947.

Frank, Lawrence K.: "What Is Social Order?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (March, 1944), 470-477.

Kandel, I. L.: "The Fantasia of Current Education," *American Scholar*, 10 (Summer, 1941), 286-297.

Kreeh, David, and Richard S. Crutchfield: *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*, Chap. X, "Structure and Functions of Social Groups," McGraw-Hill, New York, 1948.

Lundberg, George A.: *Can Science Save Us?* Longmans, New York, 1947.

Murdock, George Peter: *Social Structure*, Macmillan, New York, 1949.

Tolley, William: "Some Observations on the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education," *Educational Record*, 29 (October, 1948), 371-380.

Tyler, Ralph W.: "The Responsibility of the School for the Improvement of American Life," *School Review*, 52 (September, 1944), 400-405.

Wilson, Logan: "Sociography of Groups," in Georges Gurvitch and Wilbur Moore, *Twentieth Century Sociology*, pp. 139-171, Philosophical Library, New York, 1945.

CHAPTER 2

WHEN STUDENTS LEARN

Of all the things that an instructor should know about his students, one fact of great importance is that they are or plan to become teachers. Some, of course, will change their minds, following varied pursuits, and all will have other roles, for example, citizen and homemaker. But the fact is as stated, and its importance rests on a simple truth. *Students tend to teach as they have been taught.* They model on their best-liked teachers. We find this significant in orienting the present chapter because the academic classroom is not a good proving field, a training ground, for any person who would work in life-centered schools. Moreover, if "group-process" teaching is to make headway in the nation, it must be because a vast number of teachers believe in it. They must learn what it is in experience, how it works, and how to work it.

With these value judgments, we enter a lively field, an arena of controversy where college teachers are at opposite poles. What is good teaching at the college level? What general theory of learning underlies it? Is it enough to set students to read a book or hear lectures? How can a college class, under a teacher's guidance, organize itself as a dynamic learning group? By what teaching methods can the usual academic sameness be broken? Can one learn or know what he has learned without continuous appraisal, and how is this to be done? To none of these questions do we have *the* answer; in fact, there is no one right answer, only varied experimental approaches. To think these issues through before any class pattern is set up, is the purpose of this chapter.

GOOD TEACHING IN COLLEGE

Many books have been written about good teaching in college, books well worth many hours of reading. Mostly, they speak in

generalities and in accents of command. In line with the theory of this volume, namely, to provide students an abundance of concrete materials, we have sought to make a case-study approach to good college teaching.

Of all that has been found on good teaching, in our experience students like best an article by the late Robert E. Park. Park taught sociology at the University of Chicago. His article on teaching was, as he once said, "a kind of accident," a reflective reminiscence. It deals all too little with his own teaching methods, for he was a most stimulating teacher. It tells a lot about his "awakening" as a student, great men who shaped his growth, the philosophy of life and learning that he practiced. It is as if he were explaining himself to himself and only incidentally to others. There is an intimacy about his words which makes a reader feel that he knows and understands the writer.

IMPRESSIONS AND A VERDICT¹

I am, of course, all for such self expression as the so-called progressive education encourages but not for students alone. . . . Teachers, like students, are inclined to regard their textbooks as sacred literature—the last word on a subject rather than the first. In my own experience, the most effective and inspiring teachers have employed the most unconventional and least formal methods. . . .

When I entered the University of Michigan, I was nineteen years old. I had learned in school little or nothing. This I discovered shortly after my arrival at Michigan. I had read much but not by any means the best, even of what was accessible to me. The most stimulating stuff I had found was Ingersoll's lectures . . . and a series of rather ribald debates on evolution, carried on by a society of young radicals in our town. However, I did discover geometry while I was in high school and found it exciting. I made a sort of game of it, trying to work out the problems without referring to the demonstrations. Otherwise, I was not interested in school. . . .

The teacher who "pulled off the kivers and woke me up" was Calvin Thomas. He was the first real scholar, as I realized later, that I had ever met; the others were just teachers. German was his subject but I learned much more than that from him. After the first ten days,

¹ Adapted from Robert E. Park, "Methods of Teaching: Impressions and a Verdict," *Social Forces*, 20 (1941), 36-46. Used by permission.

we had a quiz on which I got a score of 10 on a scale of 100. He informed me, in a note at the bottom of the paper, that if I were six times as good a student as I was, he could still not pass me. That note changed my career. I had been a football player . . . and I became a student, a burner of the midnight oil. I found for the first time, that I could be interested in what was going on in school. I became a reader of philosophy and was, presently, possessed with a devouring curiosity to know the world, all that man had ever thought and done.

I think the very best teacher, at least the best lecturer, I ever had was George Knapp, at the University of Strassburg. He was, believe it or not, at once a statistician and an historian. Among the many things I got to know from him was the German peasant. In fact I gained a knowledge of peasant life so complete and intimate as I would never have believed possible to have of any people with whom one has not lived. These lectures were delightfully anecdotal, the product of an acute mind and a great amount of patient, scholarly study. It was, however, the art with which they were presented that impressed me most.

Knapp used to put a complete analysis of his lectures on the black-board. This analysis was a work of art. With this outline and his exposition, one felt that he need never look at a book again. One did, however, want to go and see and learn from firsthand. That course, aside from the things it taught me about teaching, was a most stimulating introduction to a field of study in which I have been interested ever since. I recall that, in concluding his work, he referred us, not to a treatise, but to a novel, *Der Bitner Bauer*, which I bought and read. It suggested an idea from which I have ever since greatly profited, the value of fiction in giving the student a more realistic view of life.

Another of my teachers was William James. I learned about methods of teaching from him mainly because he had no method, at least no formal method. James did not lecture; he merely discoursed. . . . Although he did use a text in some courses, he used it to excite the class and to start discussion. Once started, discussion went on in a very effective but irregular manner, not unlike the "bull sessions" with which students are familiar. What one got from these discussions was not knowledge in a systematic sense but insight and illumination.

I recall a casual remark of James that cleared up an area of confusion in my mind. It seems a little quaint now that anyone should want proof of the existence of God but that was what we were discussing. Royce, who was James' colleague, had published such a proof. To me it seemed a little mystifying, like taking a rabbit out of a hat,

and I was not convinced by the argument. What were the attributes of God? Someone said "infinity." Infinite in what? In space, in time? And what would that mean? "Infinitely old," said James, and that remark banished for me once and for all the attributes of God. It did more; it banished scholasticism. Ideas were no longer to be a substitute for reality, the world of things. Thenceforth my interest was in science rather than in philosophy.

One time this class went in a body to visit an insane hospital. James discovered among the patients an old friend. This friend was walking about the garden telling, in a great state of exaltation, how he was directing the stars, in general managing the universe. James took his arm and walked along in the most natural manner, listening with real interest as if he believed that some new light would come from this insane man on our wild and irrational universe. This was typical of James' interest in people and of his empirical way of viewing things.

My most memorable event is James' reading a paper he had just written on "A Certain Blindness in Human Beings," published later—and properly—in his *Talks to Teachers*. I mention it because I am convinced that this address, in preference to anything else that has ever been written, should be required reading for sociologists and teachers. To me this paper is the clearest statement of the difficulty and necessity (considering that the very existence of society depends on consensus) of communicating in a world made up of egocentric individuals. Communication is, as John Dewey says, the essence of the educative process.

John Dewey was another of my teachers. One thing I recall as characteristic of his method of teaching was that his students always seemed to have the notion that he and they were engaged in a common enterprise. With him learning was always, so it seemed, an adventure; an adventure that was taking us beyond the limits of safe knowledge into the problematic and unknown. We always had the conviction that something was doing, that we were going somewhere, though we did not know just where. Dewey was not a thrilling lecturer but he was an inspiring leader. Under his guidance, we moved forward with confidence, although not always sure of our destination.

I have referred to the fact that the educational process goes on under conditions imposed by the classroom. Of these conditions, I shall mention one. A class is, ordinarily, a mere aggregate of individuals engaged in a more or less enthusiastic contest for teacher approval and, ultimately, for grades. Such an aggregation is not, as under certain conditions it might be, an organized or collective unit

engaged in a planned pursuit of knowledge. All things considered, the easiest thing for a teacher to do is to intensify this competition for rank, hoping that here and there some student will be lit up by an idea and begin his own education. If no one is lit up, if there is no thrill, learner progress will be slow and interest will lag. Worst of all the knowledge acquired is likely to be purely formal and verbal.

Under routine conditions, what a student gets in college is information rather than insight, facts not ideas, conclusions that close the mind rather than open it. Dewey and James were pragmatists. What I learned from them is the value of experience and experiment, as distinguished from doctrines and their exposition. It was from Dewey that I got my first great "assignment," to investigate the nature and functions of the newspaper. I have been working on that assignment ever since.

Another man, whom I knew longer and from whom I learned more, was Booker T. Washington. After two years at Harvard and four years abroad, I was to finish my education so to speak at Tuskegee. I may as well tell how that happened. Being weary of the academic atmosphere and wanting to renew my contact with men and things, I met a missionary who had just returned from the Belgian Congo. He wanted someone to help him advertise conditions in that part of the world, the atrocities of King Leopold's rule. . . . The Congo looked like a "good story" and I undertook the job. In the course of a campaign to arouse public opinion, I sought out everyone interested in the fate of natives there. It was in this way that I met Booker Washington.

By this time, I was convinced that conditions in the Congo were not the results of mere abuse. They were endemic, an incident in the civilizing process. . . . I said something about this to Washington but he was not interested. When, however, I told him I was thinking of going to Africa and that, if there was any solution to the native problem, it would probably be some form of education, he invited me to come to Tuskegee. I went to stay a few weeks but remained for seven years. My apprenticeship was too long no doubt, for, if education is to be an exploration, we must return for an accounting.

During the seven winters at Tuskegee, I went all over the South. I did not associate to any extent with whites but I did get to know the Negro world. I was in the unique position of seeing, from the inside, the intricate workings of a significant historical process. A new racial and cultural minority, a "nation within a nation," was visibly emerging in an effort to raise its status. I was a student participating in a

great enterprise yet detached enough to see it in its sociological significance. Every year, every month, the interracial situation seemed to change. . . . Things were changing to be sure, but not as rapidly as they seemed. It was I who changed. . . .

What was the nature of this change? It was not merely that I had gathered new and more facts, a mistake so often made in education. It was that, from the wider experience I had gained, new insights were emerging. It is always a little disconcerting to observe what different aspects familiar things may assume once we see them from new points of view. This is especially true when the objects we look at are human beings whom we see and know, if at all, only through their faces, their customs and cultures. . . .

It seems to me now that the methods of teaching I found at Tuskegee were not only the most original but the most basic I have encountered anywhere. . . . They were basic because education was not limited to students in the school but included the great public of men of both races. Teaching methods included, among other things, the publication of a rural newspaper . . . and an annual conference for the discussion of local affairs. At first these meetings drew only from adjacent counties but shortly they brought together people from all over the South. . . .

Washington did not instruct these conferences or exhort them. His method was to get from members a report, based on their own experiences, of the actual conditions of rural life as they knew them. . . . In thus reversing the usual educational procedure, it was necessary to inhibit persons who wanted to make speeches and to bring to the fore less articulate farmers who, because they had achieved something—even if no more than raising a pig or buying a mule—had something to tell. What Washington wanted to know was how they did it. . . .

The information which this procedure brought forth, couched in quaint language, illuminated by humor and touched by pathos, was a moving report on the state of the South. It was vastly more intimate, more actual and suggestive, than any formal study. One was put face to face with life as it was reflected in the minds and hopes of people. Not only were Negro farmers instructed and inspired by what they heard of how other men, living under the same conditions, were improving their lot. Farmers all over the South, to whom accounts of these meetings were circulated, were awakened and made curious about the new learning, the new realism of self-help through education.

It was the element of news in these conferences as it was, for example, in the oratoricals at Tuskegee, that made them famous. At these

oratoricals, at which the whole school turned out, student groups who worked in the industries, on the farms, etc., reported on their work, its nature and its relation to the life of the school. They were trying to communicate rather than to recite, and they dramatized their work, even to the milking of a cow. I was all the more impressed with this "learning by doing" for I remembered the frigid little debates and essays of my college days. It is only when students talk, really talk, about something that occurs in class that one knows they have truly gotten ideas from the classroom.

I have always thought it a very curious fact that a Negro, who had been a slave, who had been self educated, should have put into operation a method of teaching designed to educate people for the actual business of living. Education to him, as to Dewey, was a voyage of discovery, a medium for the intelligent participation of young and old in the life of their times. . . .

In conclusion, only one (Knapp) of the teachers from whom I have learned most had a method that was systematic, the kind of method teachers look for when they talk about teaching. The others seemed intent on escaping the trammels imposed by the classroom. . . . Education must, however, have methods for otherwise knowledge could not be communicated. Method is the way knowledge is organized and transmitted . . . but this cannot be done solely by the teacher. The student must share in this work. My experience is that he does not share, as a rule, hence he has never learned how to learn, how to know and to do.

Students read this account and debate it with feeling. They agree or disagree on ideas, basing arguments on their own experiences. Park was a football player who became a student. As a student, he put himself forthwith in the way of education—books, lectures, people, whatever came to hand. Thus learning for him was not a passive matter, an accumulation of course credits. It was an *active, ongoing process of experiencing, a pursuit of goals that mattered*. One learned an idea, a skill, an attitude as he learned the use of a saw and hammer, by making it do something for him. Education was a voyage of discovery from which the traveler returned on occasion to sum up, to give an accounting. Park wrote many articles and some books on sociology, but this writing was, unfortunately, his only recorded thought on teaching.

Always original and creative, Park looked askance at teacher talk about "method." His best teachers had had no one method. Like good teachers at all times, their methods were flexible, adaptive. The doors of Park's classroom always opened outward, for he sought until the end a firmer, surer grip on group life and action. Teaching was an interactive process in which teacher-student roles took strange permutations. At some point along the way, a learner, in distinction to a mark seeker, began to get a measure of himself, his likes and dislikes, strengths and weaknesses, thus to find his place in the world of men. It is a curious thing that self-discovery comes to few college students or else comes too late really to matter, and the best of teachers are puzzled as to a corrective.

THE ACADEMIC PATTERN

There is, in truth, nothing esoteric about teaching method, nothing to justify the almost reverential awe at times attached to it. In general usage, method is a way of doing things, a procedure or plan of action. Teaching method has to do with the conduct of a classroom, the strategy of guiding learning, and as such it is part of a larger whole. In college education, this whole is usually the academic teaching pattern.

The academic pattern is not only the most common way of conducting college classrooms; it is common in teacher education. To test this view, educational-sociology majors in six widely different colleges in 1948 studied 122 education, liberal-arts, and other college courses in which prospective teachers were enrolled. On a 20-point rating scale, three-fourths of these courses were clearly academic, varying only in degree. Of 52 classes in the social sciences, fully four-fifths were highly academic. Of the 40 classes in education, over three-fifths were so rated.

If one opens the door on an academic classroom, what does it look like? A stranger would be impressed, no doubt, with the great amount of teacher talk or, conversely, with the "wall" of learner silence. He would see the instructor in the "command position," with students listening, making notes, or "doodling." Were they asked, they would show such *materia* as a textbook, assigned readings, check- or essay-type tests, term papers, reports,

and book reviews. A study of this evidence would reveal a strong emphasis on fact mastery. Aside from an occasional conference on grades, students would report almost no nonclass contact with their instructors. Half of them would not care much for such contact.

From such observational data, one can define the academic pattern. Its basic aim is to transmit knowledge, to train subject-matter specialists. Knowledge, the summed-up wisdom of all times, has long since been organized by fields, by parts of fields, by parts of parts, and so on. It has been further fragmented and parceled by divisions, colleges, departments, and, finally, by courses. Courses, usually in sequences, bear no proved relation to one another except in a few exact areas. They are, unless required, strongly competitive in character, with teacher success or failure judged largely by size of class enrollment. Students plunge when the bell sounds into lines of work so far apart as to make illustration ludicrous.

Whatever knowledge is, it is found in books. Thus "the course" is the textbook or syllabus (plus lectures), and it can be "revised" by changing texts and lectures. Chapters, assigned in order, are ground to be covered. Lectures repeat the readings or, at times, wander off in ways that make the hour a blessing. Learning is predominately symbol mastery—formal concepts, factual minutiae, esoteric principles, taught with little reference to concrete reality. Since the academic class is, in Park's words, "a mere aggregate," not a sociological group, education takes on the character of a sporting event. Students compete for teacher reward, judging that course best in which they make the highest grades. Much of this seems quite natural, for the course belongs to the instructor. It is his line of work, his classroom, his grading system. He is the authority, a respected specialist who has spent a lifetime in study.

This is, in substance, the academic system. Some of its psychological assumptions, in application to public-school classrooms, have been criticized by Kelley,² who appears, on every count, to be in disagreement with these ideas.

² Earl C. Kelley, *Education for What Is Real*, Chap. II, "Some Common Assumptions of Education," Harper, New York, 1947.

ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING THE ACADEMIC METHOD

1. Students go to school to acquire knowledge, and knowledge is something which has existed for a long time and is handed down.
2. Subject matter taken on authority is educative in itself, a lesson to be mastered.
3. The best way to organize subject matter (for learning) is in unassociated fragments or parcels.
4. A fragment or parcel of subject matter is the same to the learner as to the teacher, *i.e.*, has the same meaning.
5. Education is supplementary to and preparatory for life, not life itself, not day-by-day living.
6. Since education is not present living, it has no social (group process) aspect and content.
7. The teacher can and should furnish the purpose needed by the learner for the acquisition of knowledge.
8. Working on tasks devoid of purpose or interest is good discipline; it toughens the mind.
9. The answer to a problem is more important than the process by which the answer is found, *i.e.*, problem solving.

Were such assumptions soundly based, it would be hard to find anything much that is wrong with academic education. For instance, if knowledge is accumulated wisdom, a vast amount can be transmitted through lectures. Again, if things without faces, *i.e.*, concepts, principles, are of most worth, word mastery is of incalculable value, for words are a great avenue of contact with life. Third, a teacher does know more about a subject than a student; hence he should organize the ideas which are to be learned. Finally, while learning can be fun, as Park suggests, this is not its essential character. Learning comes from effort; the more effort, the more learning. The harder the task, even if it is meaningless, the faster one's mental muscles grow and the tougher they become.

So stated, the case for the academic is impressive. No teacher needs to work hard at teaching, at least to work hard in motivating learning, in socializing a classroom. He should spend his time in reading and research, for if he becomes a great scholar, he will be by the same token a great teacher, and neither requires an interest in young people. The student, it is assumed, shares the teacher's orientation. He comes to college to get an education,

that is, to amass knowledge, and his stay is made dependent on this condition. He attends classes, reads and remembers, and passes examinations. In large institutions, the system is as impersonal as belt-line factory work. Having put in the necessary seat hours and accumulated the needed credits, the student is graduated and certified to teach. If now he teaches as he has been taught—and studies here leave little doubt—the cycle is completed; the system is self-perpetuating.

TEST EVIDENCE OF LEARNING

Let us ask if academic teaching gets the results so often assumed for it. Consider a study of learning outcomes in three types of elementary sociology courses, including in all 16 classes and 689 students.¹

Three sets of tests were made, each adapted to a type of course. Each set was given in three class periods at the start and near the end of each course. The information test comprised 50 five-part multiple-choice questions, evenly spread over each course. The attitude test consisted of the hundred viewpoints judged most basic by the instructors of each course. The third test, the ability to do critical thinking, contained five "interpretation of data" problems for each course, with each problem having 20 or more check-type statements. General end-test results, *i.e.*, the average gains for each type of course, are reported in Table 1.

TABLE 1. MEAN END-TEST GAINS IN LEARNING OUTCOMES OF 689 COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THREE TYPES OF ELEMENTARY SOCIOLOGY COURSES

Course	Number of students	Factual knowledge	Attitudes			Critical thinking
			A*	D*	U*	
Principles of sociology	395	15.4	5.6	2.2	-8.0	3.5
Modern social problems	143	11.5	12.4	-6.0	-5.6	1.4
Educational sociology ...	151	20.0	6.3	1.7	-4.8	3.5

*A, agree; D, disagree; U, uncertain; in relation to staff viewpoints

¹ Lloyd Allen Cook and Rupert C. Koeninger, "Measuring Learning Outcomes in Introductory Sociology Courses," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 13 (1939), 208-225. Also in *Educational Research Bulletin*, 17 (1939), 233-247.

It will be seen in Table 1 that educational-sociology students, for example, made on the average a 20-point gain in factual knowledge during the 50 class meetings. With an average pre-test score of 59.2, which is not shown in the table, these students could in theory have made a gain of 40.8 points. In attitudes, the average change was 6.3 points toward staff views, in comparison with a potential change of 40.1. Attitudes also changed 1.7 away from staff views, with uncertainties increasing 4.8 points. In critical thinking, the gain was only 3.5 points out of a possible average gain on the test of 42.3 points. Students in the other two courses, with a few exceptions, made an even less impressive general showing.

Disappointed in these test results, another study was made with educational-sociology classes. Some 140 students were matched on five counts with the group of 151 in the first experiment. They were taught by the same instructors over the same time period and measured by the same three types of tests. The only difference was in *teaching method*. Classes were organized into small working groups, each centered about a major problem of its choice. Lectures were very few, field trips were numerous, and resource persons were invited in. Instructors worked chiefly to facilitate study-group activities, giving help as it was requested. End-test results clearly favored the more flexible, group-work teaching plan. On information, students in the second experiment showed almost the same average gain, exactly 22.5 points. However, on attitudes, the change was 14.8 points, over twice the gain of the first group, and on critical thinking the increase was 12.1 points.

The studies summarized are not in any sense distinctive. Study after study casts serious doubts on the effectiveness of academic teaching in human-relations areas.⁴ Students do learn, but what they learn, how much and how permanent, in comparison with group process and perceptual learning is not encouraging. Concretely, the lecture-textbook system is best in imparting information, although retention of fact beyond immediate recall

⁴ For a number of recent and varied studies, see Lloyd Allen Cook (Ed.), *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1950.

is low. Put otherwise, the forgetting rate is high, for one tends to remember the learnings that are repeatedly used. Memory, too, is a function of needs and wants, so that the transfer of academic learning to life is not great.

Academic teaching is notably weak in influencing attitudes and weakest of all in inducing behavioral changes, a point of critical importance in any sort of life-centered schooling. Ideas do not get translated into values and values into habitual ways of acting. While this is never easy to do, for it depends in part on circumstances beyond a teacher's control, the need to work for this objective is probably an educator's greatest single responsibility.

A THEORY OF LEARNING

Let us now make a rather far-reaching assumption. Suppose the past section has been read with care; suppose it is convincing. What, now, can a learning group do, what comes next? Next, some further thinking should be done on learning, not as the end-result of effort but as a process. Curiously, the vast literature on the subject tells one very little about learning as a social process. We are left pretty much in the position of knowing what we do not want but not what we do want, at least in any concrete procedural terms. In consequence, one is forced into speculation, inviting readers to reshape the story wherever it is in error.

The essence of learning is change, behavioral changes in people. To learn, a person must want to change, to be better, to do differently, and this does not occur without resistance. Resistance may be slight, or it may be great, and it may take a variable number of overt and covert forms. The learner problem is, therefore, to put himself in the way of change, to paraphrase Park, and the teacher problem is to arrange and maintain conditions furthering change. Of course, in any classroom where experiences are truly shared, these roles become mixed. Learners are teachers; teachers are learners; but this should not confuse the thought.

What kinds of situations promote changes in people? An answer is impossible until one considers a prior question. What changes are wanted in people, since behavior as we have used it

is a fairly inclusive concept. Here a valuing system comes into play, with academic and nonacademic persons expressing different views. It is these values, things wanted from learners at the end of a course, that make one great difference in college classrooms. The other great difference lies in teacher competence, whatever the kinds of learnings expected.

We have found no way of cutting a knot like this except by taking a clear stand on the issue, knowing that people of equal sincerity stand firmly on the other side. To say that one is interested in attitude changes as well as in fact mastery, in reflective thinking as well as in skill outcomes, in what people do as well as in how they talk, never seemed to us to clarify the issue. While these concepts were first brought into education as directional guides to classroom work, they have changed over time into an evaluative framework. As teachers recite them to us in field contacts, the terms do not show definitive content. No teacher is interested in all attitudes, only in a few, in some more than others, in a handful the most of all. What handful? For what attitudinal changes should a college class work?

In reflecting on this problem, our decision has been to base thinking on field impressions of the job that needs to be done in the nation's schools. From the standpoint then of a school sociologist, here are four kinds of learnings that teachers need if they are to do work in life-centered schools.

KINDS OF LEARNINGS NEEDED

1. *Value Orientations.* Schools as need-meeting institutions, democratic human relations, better levels of living, cooperative problem solving, equalization so far as possible of life chances for all people.
2. *Knowledge Content.* An understanding of community life, social change, social problems, group relations, class-typed cultural patterns, child socialization, class biases in the school, teacher-community adjustments.
3. *Operational Techniques.* Skill practice in group-study methods, group teaching methods, and organizational procedures applicable to small and large groups, including school and community coordination.
4. *Applications.* Projections of learnings (1, 2, 3) into concrete

problem situations proposed by students, planning of future programs, reflective analysis of past experiences where planning seemed either good or bad, good judgment.

We count these the minimal types of learnings that figure in teacher competence as good teachers have been observed in their day-by-day work. Of course, none of the four categories is complete; they are illustrative of content to the point where meaning can be grasped. For example, a better level of living is what the Holtville school was after, so with Pine Mountain and Wells High in Chicago. Good intergroup relations ranked high in all the other cases, the aim being at times to maximize group strength through unity on school and community action projects.

If now we return to a previous interest, what kind of situations promote changes in people? William James spoke often of two ways of knowing, "acquaintance with" and "knowledge about." The first is perceptual learning, the feel, taste, touch, and smell of things—of children in the classroom, a gang fight on the street, parents in their home, a clean new school building. The second way of knowing is science, the ability to solve technical problems by imaginative use of concepts, to calculate risks in actual operations beyond the run of chance.

To these ways of learning we would now add a third, "experience in," a viewpoint very central in John Dewey's writings. This is largely, we believe, a matter of emotional involvement in a common enterprise, a "suffering and undergoing" with people in an activity where outcomes dearly count. Judging from many papers on this topic, what students call "an experience" cannot be defined in terms of form. It can take almost any form—field trip, lecture, movie, or the like. What gives it a basic character is, as was said, its emotionality, its warmth of me-to-you, you-to-me, in which something seems to happen to the two of us. The moment has a glow about it, an awakening quality, in Park's language, in which one feels motivated to turn a corner in his life, to make something happen to himself.

In discussing these three ways of knowing, we have no doubt signaled the conclusion to which this logic seems to lead. Situations that promote changes in people are a combination of *per-*

ceptual, conceptual, and experiential factors, slanted and balanced in terms of learner readiness and task demands (or simply job needs). A good class would be one that made a great deal out of these combined approaches to learning problems.

CLASSROOM LEARNING PATTERNS

If reasoning is to be helpful to any class as it faces the problem of planning its course of study, it must be carried on into concretions. Here we caution once more on looking for prescriptions, for easy answers. If schools are "regimented," they should not be. If college classes dodge creative thinking, if they refuse to accept the responsibility of plan making, then students cheat themselves of what their money buys, the right to learn how to learn. To take away the feeling of responsibility from any group is to damage attitudes and lower work output. Scribbled bits of writings at odd places in large industrial plants, each a shot at the boss, a threat to management, should hold a lesson for college classrooms.

"Harmony"

I am working with the feeling
That the company is stealing
Fifty pennies from my pocket every day;
But for every single penny
They will lose ten times as many
By the speed that I'm producing, I dare say.

From time to time, in Part III and following, cases will deal with ways of working with people, with teaching-learning methods in a new and broader sense. Here, then, by title only and without attention to the meanings that items may carry, are applications of this methodological emphasis to college classes in any kind of school and community course.

GROUP-PROCESS TEACHING METHODS

1. Small group conference, discussion leadership, member roles, the problem-solving process, winning consent
2. Sociodrama, spontaneous roles, assigned roles, roles in relation to reality, skill learnings, appraisals

3. Community study, field trips, agency visits, apprenticeship services, home visits, formal interviews
4. In-class panels, round tables, and forums; what each one is, when to use it, how it can be made to pay off
5. Audio-visual aids, especially movies; films available, group-use patterns, guided and unguided discussion
6. Use of community resource persons, guided interviewing by class members, speechmaking, and value analysis
7. In-class testing, for example, use of some standard attitude test in human relations, group processing of data

While the list could be extended, there is no need to go beyond practices which have general applicability. One will miss the point at issue if, having heard, say, of sociodrama or having taken part in one, he assumes forthwith that this is old stuff, that he knows what can be done with this highly flexible and effective group teaching method. So with each other item in the list. And so with the lecture system, with laboratory demonstration and the like, for we enter no general condemnation of any standard teaching technique. Our first concern is to get variation into classroom procedures, this or that method as it is needed, as teachers fit it to their personality and find what it will do. Second, if students in their own teaching are to use group-process methods, they must practice them in college if they would learn the skills on which each one rests.

AN OUTLINE FOR COURSE PLANNING

Park viewed academic classes as "mere aggregates," passive learners who seemed to dare a teacher to educate them. But he spoke also about another kind of grouping, for example, the farmer conferences at Tuskegee. Here were farm people, sweating away, hemming and hawing, to find words to tell how they did something—raised a pig, milked a cow, put in or harvested a crop, with trips to fields, to barns, and the like in demonstration. Wherever one has witnessed a sight of this kind, a *teacher-leader leading through a group's own natural leaders*, he feels a lifting of the spirit, a renewed faith in the efficacy of teaching in changing perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors.

AND WE LEARNED⁵

Our class was a class of teachers, case-hardened I should say from teaching citizenship over the years to Chicago's polyglot immigrant peoples. . . . For reasons I do not know, we got off in this training for teachers to a mighty poor start, and things kept growing worse instead of better. And then we had an addition to the group, a little Jewish emigre doctor, a roly-poly character and not to be taken seriously. Well, things began to happen. Within a few meetings, it was as if we had known this man for many years, for it took him just that long to get around, to win our full acceptance. He did not boss us, nothing like that, yet his say-so became important. I guess there was no magic, yet I don't know, he did have something. . . . We seemed to see how much he knew about all our problems and we turned to him for guidance. Before he came, we had been so many individuals, each slogging along as he pleased. Now we became a hard-working crew, getting the feel of struggle and achievement.

When classes change over from a passive learning situation to an active planning group, the first felt need is for a general framework within which to set a course of study, to chart a line. After students have achieved, through lectures and readings, a general orientation to a field, we turn to their more specific needs, problems, and concerns. In terms of possibilities, what do class members want to get out of the course? What should its central objectives be? What study units should be set up? What learning resources stocked and used? What teaching methods? How, from time to time and at the end, can learning outcomes be appraised?

In Fig. 2, we have given a minimal plan for course planning, and the outline does not need a point-by-point interpretation. It can be used in its present form or changed about, if a learning group is so minded, to plan a course of study that will last a semester. It has been used at times as an occasion for breaking a class into small groups, with each group working on a part of the outline and then reporting to the class as a whole.

Does course planning preclude the use of a textbook? In our experience, the answer is no, provided the text contains enough

⁵ Adapted from Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Action and the School*, p. 11, The Ohio State University Press, Columbus, Ohio, 1941.

of the units, problems, etc., selected by the group to make its use profitable. To do well in reflective thinking, to see what has happened and is in process in a field, one needs a readily accessible stock of readings. These cannot be picked up on the run, or casually from experience, or from any source except a canvass of the literature. Admittedly, every learning group should make its own integration of material, and in the process a consideration of textbook and other views is a stimulant to self-learning.

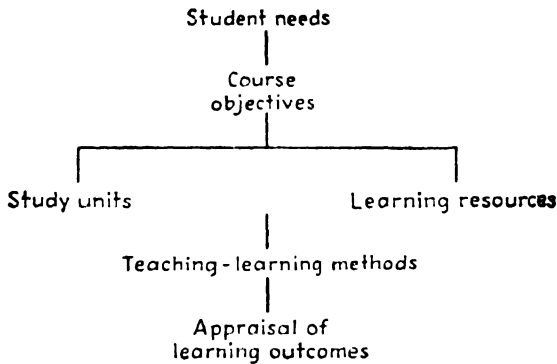


FIG. 2 A plan for course planning

In this chapter, we have compared two modes of college teaching, one traditional and the other group-centered. Because students tend to imitate their teachers, stress has been placed on active classroom planning as the better preparation for work in the "community school." Whatever learning plan is developed, a class should reach some agreement on the outcomes expected from a course. Four kinds of learnings have been listed—values, knowledge, technique, and applications to concrete problems. Applications have been viewed as worth separate listing because of their great dependence on judgment, a prime differential between good and bad teachers and one on which it has always been hard for us to instruct.

Problems and Projects

1. State in your own words Park's theory of learning. What to you is the one most important single point in all that Park says? Where do your own ideas of your own education disagree with Park's thought?

2. Arrange a panel discussion in class where each participant will report on the most effective and inspiring teacher he has ever had in college. What are the common elements in all good teaching?

3. Read Earl C. Kelley, *Education for What Is Real* (Harper, New York, 1947). Is this a social or an individualistic theory of how people learn? What is the difference in these two conceptions?

4. Lead a class discussion on "reorganizing our perceptions," in D. Krech and R. S. Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*, Chap. IV. Compare this viewpoint with that of Kelley.

5. Appoint a small class committee to study and report on "the academic method" of teaching as it is found in classes attended by committee members. Why, in committee opinion, does the academic method persist unchanged year after year in college education?

6. If you had to grade your professors, on what bases would you assign your grades for the best and worst teaching? See Robert Hoppeck, "N.Y.U. Students Grade Their Professors," *School and Society*, 66 (1947), 70-72.

7. What do you think of the four kinds of learning outcomes listed as desirable in the present course? Take any one type of learning, for example, *value orientations*, and tell as exactly as you can what you would like to have the course do in this particular area.

8. Would it be wise now to appoint a student committee on field trips and one on educational films? Do you know of any field trip that might be taken to any child-rearing institution to see what theory of learning is in use? Is there any educational film that might fit in at this point in the course? Have you seen the McGraw-Hill films, *Learning to Understand Children* and *The Broader Concept of Method*? Either, if obtainable, would lead to a lively classroom discussion of learning.

9. Had you ever heard of *sociodrama* before entering this class? Ever participate in one? After reading the section on sociodrama in the final chapter, set up one on the academic method of teaching. How do profs lecture? What is done with student questions? How do students talk about the course, and the final exam, in confidence? What do profs seem to think about students? Conclude your sociodrama with a conference between the student and his professor in respect to the student's grade.

10. What use should a course like this make of local community resources? Review Gordon W. Blackwell's *Toward Community Understanding* to see how some colleges use their local community.

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PART II

THE COMMUNITY FRAME OF LIFE

CHAPTER 3

NATURE OF COMMUNITY

One can see in teacher education a trend away from the old omnibus "first course" in principles and history to a study of living, changing communities. Common sense and a desire to serve people have brought about this change, but further progress would seem to depend upon other factors. One factor is the ability to assimilate technical knowledge, to learn what has been found out in years of research study. Time and again, in field work, one will find this lack of knowledge on the part of teachers and of school heads. Worse still, college professors take school consultant jobs on difficult community problems without having any background of community study or any particular insight into the structure of community life.

When sociologists and cultural anthropologists study "community," what do they study? How do they proceed, and what has been found out? This is a long and involved story but an exciting one, a kind of learning which has high use value in school work. What, after all, is a community? Can one, like Humpty Dumpty in explaining a concept to Alice, write his own meaning for the word? Is the question simply, as Humpty put it, "Which is the master—me or the word?" Can people "live together" without being a community? Of what kinds of communities is the nation made up? If one could draw up his own over-all plan for community study, what would it be? Starting with these questions where thought so often goes awry, we can move in successive chapters through increasingly complicated patterns of community life.

MEANING OF COMMUNITY

To the man on the street, community means a place, *the place where he lives*. Reference is not to his house or street but to his

town, city, or section of a city. By tone of voice, as well as by words, community has a reality for him, a vivid place imagery. He likes or dislikes it, usually the former, and in an affectionate, poetic sense.

God gave all men all earth to love
But since our hearts are small
Orlained for each one spot should prove
Beloved over all.

—KIPLING

While emphasis on place seems quite correct, it is not in itself sufficient to define community. The reason is that we live in many places at one and the same time, for example, a village, town, or city area, a state, a region, the nation, and world. Individuals differ, as a test study would show, in the nature and extent to which they live (participate, hold office, etc.) in any of these overlapping communal areas.

To educators in particular, Dewey's definition of community has much to recommend it. "There is," he writes, "more than a verbal tie between common, communication and community."¹ People, who are in communication, come to hold things in common, and because of this "belief pattern" they form a community. In this usage, community has no spatial delimitation. It signifies common interests, a shared concern, a general consensus, or *solidarité*. This view, like that of place, is extremely important; yet its unbounded sweep limits its usefulness. Any group or institution, any kind of human association, any two friends, is a "community." Unless the community concept is more rigorously defined, it can have no precise meaning.

From a sociological standpoint, a community is a configuration of land, people, and culture, a structured pattern of human relations within a geographic area. In a technical sense, the concept has seven fundamental characteristics.

COMMUNITY: A DEFINITION

1. A population aggregate
2. Inhabiting a delimitable, contiguous area

¹ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 1-7.

3. Sharing a historical heritage
4. Possessing a set of basic service institutions
5. Participating in a common mode of life
6. Conscious of its unity
7. Able to act in a corporate way

Each of these points merits further clarification and, in classroom work, should be given several concrete illustrations.

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

In defining community, *population aggregate* seems preferable to "social group" because the latter includes content which is better specified in other parts of the definition. One can speak of plant communities, animal communities, human communities, though never of communities of inanimate objects. The number and make-up of people in the human community cannot be set down a priori; yet the population must be large enough and homogeneous enough to show the beliefs and behaviors implicit in the total definition.

The idea of *contiguous and delimitable territory* means that a community exists somewhere. It has a location on the land, a spatial habitat, hence a mode of life conditioned by areal factors—climate, topography, soil, and the like. It will have a center, for example, a village, town, or city, and a rim or periphery, with transportation and communication connecting all its parts. To bound any small community, one would need to make a field study of families in the area, especially at or near the outer rim, to determine where they shop, attend church, vote, send children to school, and so on. The community itself is a composite of these various service areas after they have been superimposed on the economic (or trade basin) map, a conventional practice in community study.

Sharing a historical heritage implies group consciousness of a cumulative culture, a living past, as recounted by early settlers, ceremonial orators, local historians, and others. This history is in part fact, in part myth and legend, but it is a matter of public knowledge and, to a degree, is believed. To be acquainted with this heritage identifies one as an in-group member, a participant

in the life of the place, a respecter of customs and sacred beliefs.

A community is unlike a neighborhood in that one could spend his life within its boundaries if he so wished. Put otherwise, a community has enough, and enough kinds, of *basic service institutions* so that economic and other needs can be met. The meaning is not that any modern community sustains itself but that it has the ways and means in its stores, schools, churches, etc., to convert inner and outer resources to its use.

By a *common mode of life* is meant the full round of life activities, the time uses of an area's people. While there is no standard classification of the things that people do, every community shows some such set of activities as those used in *Middletown*, namely, making a living, family life, keeping well, using leisure, schooling, being a citizen, and church participation. While these pursuits will differ by age, sex, and so on, they will presumably have enough consistence to speak of area culture as a unified whole. The smaller and more intimate the community, the greater its cohesion, with large places differing from smaller ones in both degree and kind.

Consciousness of unity means the same as community spirit. It suggests that a community exists in the minds of its members as an object of attention and concern. Residents speak of it with affection, or grumble over its failures, threaten to move away, and speculate on its future. It becomes a frame of reference for interpreting persons and events, a barometer to gauge the state of national well-being and world affairs. Like other kinds of consciousness, community consciousness exists in degrees, varies with individuals and over time. It can be measured, and it can be created or manipulated for personal and public gain.

Ability to act in a corporate way is the most definitive characteristic of a community, a recurring test of fitness for survival. A crisis arises—flood, fire, depression, interracial conflict, or “boom” development, brought on by internal or external forces, gradual or catastrophic in nature—and the community must act in order to preserve itself. If the crisis is met successfully, group cohesion will be stronger than before; if it is not met, or not well met, community spirit will be weakened. Successive failures are

a sign of community disorganization and, perhaps, of eventual eclipse.

THE HOLLOW FOLK: A CASE STUDY

What is and is not a community can be tested at its lower level through class analysis of a concrete case. Hidden away in the Blue Ridge Mountains, less than a hundred miles from the nation's capital, dwell the Hollow Folk.² These "hollows," like other Appalachian areas, were settled mainly in colonial times by English and Scotch-Irish immigrants. With so-called "hostiles" (Indians) always present, these settlers built their cabins and set up a way of life. As time went on, incoming migrants forced some further up into the mountains, and others set out for prairie land to farm. Descendants of the residual groups make up the mountain dwellers of today.

In the record that follows, five localities were studied over a two-year period. Highest on the mountain and "lowest" in culture is Colvin, its few inhabitants living in scattered, mud-plastered shacks. Since about all bear the name of Colvin, its use has been dropped in favor of "Sadie's Benny," "Dicey's Willie," and so on. With three exceptions, all adults are illiterate. One cabin is rented by the county for use as a school; otherwise there is no common meeting place. There was no road to the outside at the time of study, no formal government, no church, or other service institution.

Next in the cultural scale is Needles, with a rocky trail linking it to a country road. Work for pay is more regular, cultivated patches of a few acres are found, and most families own a pig and chickens. There is a combined school and church but no government. On down the mountain is Oakton, at the head of the county road and accessible by automobile. Farming is more regular and productive, and "work-out" money is had through apple picking, road work, and pickup jobs. Some cabins have three to four rooms, and mail-order catalogues are common. There is a combined store and post office, school and church, and two embattled religious sects.

² This case study is based on Mandel Sherman and Thomas R. Henry, *Hollow Folk*, Crowell, New York, 1933. Used by permission.

Rigby, the fourth locality, is a compact little settlement near the base of the mountains. Most of its people are literate, mail is sent and received daily, farms are larger and better tilled, cabins are more substantial, and the level of living is higher. School is in session about seven months of the year, and some economic and social differentials between family groups are evident. Briarsville, a valley town used for comparison, is a modern farm and sawmill small town. Many of its residents are hill folk who have come to work in the lumber mills.

LIFE IN THE HOLLOWES

Living and Dying. In Colvin, the child is born on a rag bed under the watchful eyes of its siblings. Childbirth is wholly a woman's affair; husbands are said to regard it as a nuisance. One mother of five children has never been attended by either midwife or doctor; another pays a midwife 60 cents to attend her. Childbearing is accepted as a part of nature's unalterable order. "Every woman is goin' to have her number," said a mother of fifteen children. Not in Colvin but far down the mountain, it is whispered that conception can be prevented. "Three women done told me," said a mother. "But do you think it is right?" she was asked. "If'n hit suits 'em (men), hit suits me," she replied.

Once in the world, the infant suckles the breast of an undernourished mother. In Colvin, its welfare is reported as no great concern to anyone save its mother; in Rigby, sickness and death are real tragedies. In the upper settlement, adults trust to their traditional lore in times of sickness—snail slime for coughs, calamus root for diarrhea, sassafras for spring tonic, etc. In Oakton, the third settlement, the midwife is more favored than the doctor, whereas in Rigby the two are about even in popularity. In Colvin and Needles, the toothbrush is seldom found; in Oakton half the children report its use, and in Briarsville nearly every child owns a brush.

Strange as it may seem, the health of Colvin youngsters measures higher on standard scales than that of Briarsville children, and Needles children rate slightly higher than the national norm. It is not known to what extent this showing is due to obscure factors of survival and adaptation, to outdoor life, fresh air, daily exercise, and a diet at times insufficient in quantity.

A typical home in Colvin is a one-room oak cabin with a loose board floor. It may or may not have a lean-to against one wall. Some homes

have glass windows nailed in place; a few have front porches. Inside is a bed, a cookstove, a chair or two, an open fireplace, and perhaps a table. One woman papered the walls of her cabin with pages from a mail-order catalogue; many have tacked up pictures of Christ or of Biblical scenes. Under the roof is a loft used "to sleep" the children or as a storage place for vegetables.

Some Colvin men have "dress-up" suits of denim overalls and jumpers, and some women have "boughten" calico dresses. In the main, the women and children wear castoff garments left by visitors at a near-by summer hotel or homemade clothes of cotton and burlap. Underwear is seldom worn by anyone; hats are most unusual. Shoes are a necessity for adults, but until a year ago children did not wear them. In some settlements, wool yarn is still spun by hand and knitted or woven into garments, coverlets, and rugs.

Passing out of the world may or may not be an event of note, depending on the person's social status and friendship ties. Colvin folk are resigned to death, as to most other things. "If'n the Loard wants my child to die of diphthery, she'll die thataway." In all the Hollows, the dead are buried with their feet toward the East. Usually in Colvin, there is no funeral for infants; in lower settlements, the rites are much the same as in the outer world. In upper districts, graves are overgrown with bushes and people do not go near them. In Oakton, burial plots are marked with field stones.

Work and Play. Aside from "jest settin," Colvin men spend time in hunting and in gathering roots, berries, wild honey, and other food products. Their nearest approach to regular labor is the care of small gardens. Crops are poorly tended and yields are sparse. The level of living, based on the staples of corn, cabbage, and salt pork, does not equal that of the "poor whites" in many Southern lowlands. Sam Colvin is a notable exception to the lack of industry in the upper settlements. He is the area's combined messenger and carrier. For a quarter, he walks to and from the village, eight miles away, and "fetches" supplies. He hunts on shares, using a neighbor's gun and returning part of the kill.

In Needles, farming is less primitive. Many families own a horse and its care has forced some rotation in crops. One family cultivates 24 acres and markets its surplus crops. Through the sale of crops and with money made on a "road gang," a second family has bought a used car. Oakton's economy is more complex. Woman's work is mostly indoors, fields are tilled with care, employment for pay is more common, and the general store has given rise to a barter system. At the

store mail is posted and received, horses are shod, and teeth are pulled. In Rigby, land and labor yield cash crops. Farming is a full-time job most of the year and is supplemented by logging and tanbark collecting.

In the upper districts, adults have few ways of "pleasuring themselves" and no organized leisure pursuits. Colvin children are seldom seen in groups and team games have not taken root. Small boys and girls make dolls out of corncobs and rags; older boys play at "musclin' rocks." Semi-team games, such as "duck on davey," are not found above Rigby. Colvin has one musical instrument, a 1905 phonograph. Its half dozen records are scratched and worn. Bits of Old English balladry were discovered but only after a diligent search. On down the mountain Fair Ellen and Lord Thomas, and other familiar ballads, are increasingly in evidence.

Mores and Family Life. Mazie lives in Colvin. She is the mother of four children, each named for its assumed father. "I'se been an awful sinner, miss," she said to a teacher, "but now I'se saved." Her behavior was known but not disapproved until the teacher condemned it. In the upper hollows, boys and girls sleep with each other and with parents from birth to pubescence. Children of ten know of adult personal habits and discuss them freely. Only in the lower hollows is sex immorality a serious offense. Here illegitimate children, though few in number, are looked down upon. In Briarsville alone, parents seek to control child conduct by a planned program.

In Needles, there is little agreement as to the proper age for marriage. Often youngsters in their early teens "talk to" (court) each other. If they decide to live together, with or without a license to wed, they may set up a home for themselves or live with a parent family. A cabin site may be had by "squatter's rights" and little capital is required for furnishings. Where economic requirements are more severe, the age of marriage tends to be higher. Furthermore, where art and literature have made their appearance in popular music, fiction, etc., courtship is less direct and more conventional and romantic.

Fears, Wants, and Worries. A family group is gathered about an open fireplace. The only light comes from a burning log. Outside the wind rubs together the branches of a tree. "It's Lizzie's hant," whispers the mother as she reaches for her youngest child. Other children wedge in around their parents. The father alone pays no particular attention to the "hant." He has encountered ghosts before.

Upper hollows are fertile places for superstitious fears. Natural forms undergo weird transformations in the shadows, and the world

abounds in ghosts and demons and exotic animals. None of these otherworldly specters are good, many are malicious, and some are dangerous. Normally children's fears change with age, but in the upper mountain settlements older youngsters fear much the same things as younger ones. Common fears were of "hants," of lions and elephants, of storms and forest fires, and of scarcity of food. No child reported a fear of school failure or of failure in a career, a fact in sharp contrast to conditions elsewhere.

Colvin children expressed few wants. No gift is more appreciated than a plug of tobacco or a cigarette, and the habitual use of tobacco is a prime school problem. "Tain't right for young boys to smoke," said a well-meaning father as he took a cigarette from his son, age five. Essie, age six, continued to puff away in his presence. A lady had told him that "serious things" happen to boys who smoke, but the father had not applied the same rule to girls.

When asked, "What do you want to be when you grow up," the usual reply of Colvin children was "I wants to be what I am." In Oakton, boys desired to be farmers and carpenters—their fathers' occupations—and girls wanted to be "winmin." Presumably child wants arise from experience and, with contacts so limited, mountain children do not develop the aims and ambitions which characterize valley children.

Child and parent relations, ever a fruitful field for child worries in average communities, are much the opposite in the hollows. Parents are not hard taskmasters; children roam the hills and clutter up the cabins at will. While some parents "know that larnin' makes you," there is little disposition to force the child to attend school. One woman walked three miles to a meeting, carrying her three-year-old because "hit wanted to come." An investigator reported the death of a child because, in the father's words, "no one couldn't make her take no medicine; she was a Baker and you could never make a Baker do nothin' he didn't want to do."

Upper hollow adults appear to have few worries. No man worries over the loss of a job because he has no regular employment to lose. Even sickness and death are accepted with a kind of stoic fatalism. Mental strain, the *bête noire* of high-tension urban life, is not reported. Adults are emotionally placid, taking life as it comes, each day with the next. Parents share freely with children but all persons are expected to face lean times without complaint.

Schooling and Mind. The old nursery classic is nearing its climax. Little Goldilocks is fast asleep in the baby bear's bed and listeners pay

close attention to hear what will happen next. For the tenth time in almost as many days, these adult pupils—some of them mothers of large families—listen to the teacher tell stories written for nursery school children. The teacher had adopted this technique to catch the interest of these illiterates in adult education.

For the past 11 years, Colvin had 16 irregular months of school, Needles 30 months, Rigby 66 months, Oakton 66.5 months, and Briarsville the customary 108 months. Since grade placement is usually left to the teacher and standards are low, it is impossible to estimate the retardation of the average mountain child. On the whole, schools are old and in poor repair; books are few in number and of a miscellaneous nature; teaching, largely a man's job, is confined closely to the three R's; and almost no record is kept of a child's school progress. The average parent is said to be indifferent to school problems.

Intelligence test results were uniformly unfavorable to all mountain children. Individual differences in scores were apparent, but averages on standard tests involving abstract comprehension were much below the national norms. Manipulation tests (form board, as an example) gave higher average scores but these were still lower than "normal" scores. An extensive testing program led to three general conclusions. Marked differences in individual performance were found between areas and among the subjects in a given area. Children did best on tests which were most independent of language ability and school training. Youngsters under six approached national norms more closely than those over six.

A few concrete samples of test results are interesting. Asked to define a postoffice, an upper hollow boy said it was "a place with apples in front" (the general store at Oakton). Asked to copy a triangle, many subjects drew irregular circles; asked where a neighboring family lived, the reply was "over thar a piece." Whether this meant a hundred yards, a half mile or a mile, could not be found out. One question which involved problem solving is typical. "What is the thing for you to do if it is raining when you start to school?" The universal answer was: "I wouldn't come."

Law and Government. In small, face-to-face groups there is little need for law and government. Behavior is traditionalized and hence subjected to informal controls, such as custom and opinion. State laws and county rulings embrace the hollows, yet they are seldom observed or enforced. Taxes are not paid by Colvin adults, no interest is manifested in local or national politics, and school attendance laws are virtually unknown. This is not of course to deny the existence of ideas

of right and wrong and of ways of enforcing them. For example, a man was killed and the person charged with murder was acquitted at a jury trial in the valley. "Tain't no use foolin' with a jury," said a Colvin dweller, "someone will git him."

Blood feuds, handed down through generations, are not reported for these hill folk but are common elsewhere in the mountains. "Moon-shining" is most typical in Rigby, with its greater access to an outside market. Aside from selling distilled liquor, the most serious crime is that of setting forest fires. Dead chestnut trees burn like tinder in "dry spells" and fire fighting is a lucrative source of income. Starting with Needles, "law and order" are recognized as being essential to social welfare. In this settlement, three men are taxpayers and on occasion are registered voters. Since the valley is normally Democratic, the hollows lean toward Republicanism.

Religion and the Church. Presumably original settlers were churchgoers, many being Presbyterians, yet they brought no clergyman and built no church. With the passing of time, there came an Open Brethren missionary who organized church groups. Clem Needles felt "the call" and began to preach. His message was always the same: God's wrath is near and terrible, and the road to salvation is straight and narrow. Through the years he won a reputation for hypocrisy, and his congregation dwindled. Today he sits on the front porch of his whitewashed cabin, staring out over the hollow. "Folks," he says, "have lost interest in things of the spirit."

In Needles, organized religion is at low ebb. Preachers are self appointed and semiliterate. There is scant reverence at church; people walk in and out at will during services. In Oakton, two religious sects are in open conflict. Each sees a clearer light; neither will move to compromise doctrinal differences. Rigby shares in the vast world culture of one great Protestant religious denomination. About three-fourths of its inhabitants are churchgoers. There is weekly prayer meeting and Sunday school, and twice a month there is preaching by an ordained minister. While major stress is placed on personal salvation, the church has labored to increase literacy, to promote tolerance, and to improve civic welfare.

The Changing Scene. Without doubt, the highland picture is slowly changing. Step by step, the hollows are being drawn into the larger scheme of life environing them. Better roads, more mail-order catalogues, greater school attendance, the advent of telephones, have tended to break down their traditional shut-inness. Another factor is the growing migration of younger men in quest of work in sawmills, cotton

mills, and coal mines. Some do well; others, like Bud, fail to make a satisfactory adjustment.

"Bud," said the schoolteacher, "how does it happen that you came back?" "Wall," he drawled, "hit's much better here. I gits up in the mornin' when I wants and I do what I wants. No gittin' up with a whistle and eatin' with a whistle." Bud felt that he had regained the mountain man's most treasured possession, room to breathe, freedom, and the right to be his own boss.

FOLK LIFE AND CULTURE

A first point of interest in this case is the mode of life represented. That life is essentially a folk culture. Wherever they are found, folk groups are isolated. Owing to physical barriers, such as mountains, or to cultural barriers, such as language and customs, they are shut off from invigorating contacts with other people.³

Another mark of the folk group is its extreme social stability. This is evidenced in the rigidity of customs, the dominance of traditional beliefs, and the slow tempo of change. A third mark is the high degree of racial homogeneity, due chiefly to in-mating and natural and social selection of physical types. A fourth mark is the relatively low level of material culture and technological processes. The economy of the group is keyed to the immediate region, of a fairly even level of skill, and notably unproductive. The culture as a whole may be described by the prefix "pre," precosmopolitan, preindustrial, prescientific, and so on. Hollow Folk life illustrates to a degree each of these characteristics.

A second point of interest in the case concerns the personality of the hill folk. What general type of person does this mode of life tend to produce? On this point existing studies are fragmentary, subjective, and unreliable. The terms most frequently used to characterize the mountaineer are "natural," "uncouth," "taciturn," "suspicious," "self-reliant," "slow learning," "unimaginative," "independent," and "fatalistic." The extent to which these labels stereotype hill folk personality rather than describe it is not known.

One aspect of personality is intelligence. Is it safe to say that the extremely isolated children of the hills are defective in mental ability? To do so would be to assume the adequacy of the intelligence tests, an assumption denied by the testers. The most general criticism of these tests, and the most serious one, is that they are based upon

³ B. A. Botkin, "Folk and Folklore," in W. T. Couch (Ed.), *Culture in the Old South*, pp. 570-593.

symbols, skills, and assumptions which are foreign to mountain culture. This is obviously true in respect to any tests making use of word symbols. In the "lost ball" test, for example, upper hollow youngsters were disadvantaged by having no concept of a level field in which a ball could be lost. Even performance tests, such as form board manipulation, assume a time element which is contrary to folk orientation. Speed in life routines is conspicuously absent in the hollows.

It would probably be in error, however, to explain away all the unfavorable showing made on tests by mountain children as due to faulty measuring instruments. On a test involving the identification of common objects in the environment—such as rocks, trees, and birds—Hollow Folk subjects came off a poor second best to valley children. Granting their handicap in understanding instructions, it is still probable that they are less sensitive than other children to nature objects. If they are deficient in intelligence, there is no evidence to show that the deficiency derives from heredity. There is evidence to show that it comes from an impoverished environment, a social milieu of limited educational contacts. There has been a strong conviction among many research workers from 1930 onward "that mental tests are in reality only measures of educational opportunity and attainment." Thus the practical problem is that of providing adequate educational facilities for mountain children. Until this is done the immutability of the intelligence quotient is highly questionable.

A third point of interest in the Hollow Folk case centers on social change. Mountain life is undergoing transformation, and in many parts of the Appalachians it faces a serious crisis. Owing chiefly to an exploitive capitalism in coal areas and to the industrialization of the Tennessee Valley, hill folk culture seems destined for radical alterations. One may regret the passing of America's most authentic Old World survivals, or he may reflect on ways and means of easing the strains of an inevitable transition. The latter is a problem in social planning and educational guidance.

A final point of interest lies in the question of whether or not these mountain hollows form true communities, an issue on which students have usually reached a unanimous judgment. It is evident that upper hollows are not organized for collective living. They are lacking in service institutions, in inclusive group consciousness, and in mass action patterns for meeting local problems. As functional groups, localities of this type appear to fall short of true community status. They are best designated as unorganized districts.

COMMUNITY AND RELATED CONCEPTS

Community connotes a pattern of life which is identifiable with a spatial area, whereas *society* is a broad, inclusive concept. It indicates the togetherness of people without reference to land area, the general "web of life" in which all communities live and have their being. Krey⁴ has helped to sharpen this distinction by his study of a little Colorado town. He shows that this town has, in effect, a double life. On the one hand, it is subjected to many and varied societal influences—its imports and exports, chain stores, reading matter, movies, radio, and the like. On the other hand, one can see numerous communal products—local foods, leisure pursuits, moral ideals, self-government, and so on.

Krey has described, of course, a commonplace situation, subject to verification by any college class. The important point is that every community is related to the society that bears it in much the same way that a variable, in a statistical sense, is related to its central tendency. Our Euro-American society, with whatever general core values it still retains, colors the life of every areal culture in the nation, linking all places together like beads on a string.

By use of the definition that was given, community can be distinguished from related concepts. Areas such as isolated mountain settlements are not true communities. They are more properly called *unorganized districts*. Unlike these amorphous groupings, *neighborhoods* (rural and urban) possess the traits we have listed, or most of them, but to a limited degree. They are, possibly, subcommunities, whereas great metropolitan centers with their hinterlands are supercommunities. Within these large cities, there are *natural areas* which show measurable homogeneity of race and/or culture, such as a school district. These areas differ from true neighborhoods in that they lack service institutions and consciousness of unity. *Regions*, by one definition a number of homogeneous, contiguous states, are nonlocal communities in contrast to villages, towns and cities.

⁴ A. C. Krey, "The World at Home," in *Utilization of Community Resources in the Social Studies*, pp. 173-181; Ninth Yearbook, National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D.C., 1938.

NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES

One question of general, factual interest has to do with the number of American communities of varying size. The best statistics that can be found relate to the nation's 3,464 incorporated places.

TABLE 2. U.S. COMMUNITIES BY SIZE, 1940 CENSUS

<i>Size of place</i>	<i>Number</i>
1,000,000 or more	5
500,000-999,999	9
250,000-499,999	23
100,000-249,999	55
50,000- 99,999	107
25,000- 49,999	213
10,000- 24,999	665
5,000- 9,999	965
2,500- 4,999	1422
All places	3464

To this total should be added a great many unincorporated places, both rural and urban, which function as communities. While the number is large, it is not actually known, and it would add little to knowledge to hazard a guess.

TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

In spite of urbanization, with its enforced uniformities, every community has an individuality, a uniqueness most evident in its reaction to crisis. Admitting this, sociologists center attention on the ways communities are alike rather than on their differences, and all places fall into a few general types. One broad division is between urban and rural, with urban defined as any incorporated place of 2,500 and more. This classification is based on census usage, which rests in turn on *legalistic and governmental structure*.

The most widely used sociological typology of communities involves *size*, the assumption being that number of residents strongly conditions an area's total mode of life. From this standpoint, American communities show at least seven basic types.

COMMUNITIES BY SIZE

Hamlet	Less than 250
Village	250-1,000
Town	1,000-5,000
Small city	5,000-25,000
Middle city	25,000-100,000
Metropolis	100,000-1,000,000
Great metropolis	Over 1,000,000

Another common classification of communities centers on *function* or function combined with location. The theory is that an area's major service function, such as farming, mining, industry, education, etc., will tend to determine its general social system. An idea of the range of differentiation is seen in a summary report.⁵

An industrial city will differ in significant social ways from a commercial, mining, fishing, resort, university, or capitol city. A one industry city will differ from a multi-industry city, as will an industrial suburb from a residential suburb, an old city from a new one, a southern city from an eastern or Middle West or Pacific Coast city, a growing city from a dying city.

A fourth classification distinguishes between primary and secondary communities, a distinction of great importance in our work. This division is based on *intimacy of social life*, the usual test being the number of persons known to other persons. In general, the smaller the place the larger the ratio of people who will be intimately and continuously associated in many aspects of their life. To catch the full meaning of this, one might ponder the gossip insights of small-town persons who really know the "mind" of their town or conversely the bewilderment of a "countryman" years ago on his first visit to London.

Above all one thought
Baffled my understanding; how men lived
Even next door neighbors as we say, yet
Strangers, not knowing each other's name.

—WORDSWORTH

⁵ *Our Cities*, p. 93, National Resources Committee, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1937.

For school uses, a distinction should be made between local and nonlocal communities. This classification is based on *locus*; hence it depends on a given point of reference. The first community environing a person (a native) is, for him, his local community, while all other communities are nonlocal. This viewpoint is not unlike the usual way of specifying directions. For instance, New Englanders refer to Ohio as "the West," Pacific Coast visitors say that it is "East," whereas "Buckeyes" think of themselves as a "Middle Western" or "Central State" people.

Were the classification just made to pass into general usage, it would help a great deal to further clear thinking. One could talk about the use of local community resources to educate for life in either local or nonlocal communities, or he could discuss nonlocal communities, in the present or in the past, as they relate to community life of today. Such usage would greatly broaden the community concept, freeing it from any charge of having a provincial taint.

A PLAN OF COMMUNITY STUDY

As a way of reviewing much that has been said about the nature of community, let us ask what sociologists study when they study the community. Were one to glance ahead in this volume, leafing through community case studies, it would be clear that there is no standard pattern for making area surveys. In seeking an answer to the question, an analysis was made of 52 book-length or monographic studies of urban and rural places, the best we believe that the literature affords. These researches differed on almost every conceivable point. They differed in general purposes, in definitions of concepts, in field-work methods, and in use of findings. This is in part as, perhaps, it should be, for any community is a complex whole which can be viewed from many angles; yet the lack of general pattern is confusing to the student, and it makes comparison of studies rather difficult.

In addition to the findings just reported, this analysis of community studies has led us to formulate a general plan for an over-all area survey. Figure 3 is intended to suggest the basic elements found in any community, large or small, thus to guide one in his general understanding. The first three titles and the

last two refer to the community as a whole, the middle categories to aspects of the whole.

By *community identification*, we refer to some first impressions of a place, the chief function of which would be to orient the reader of a community report or an audience listening to one. Among items most appropriate, we would stress the first "look-see" appearances of the community center as one approaches it, its general location relative to other places, and its basic type.

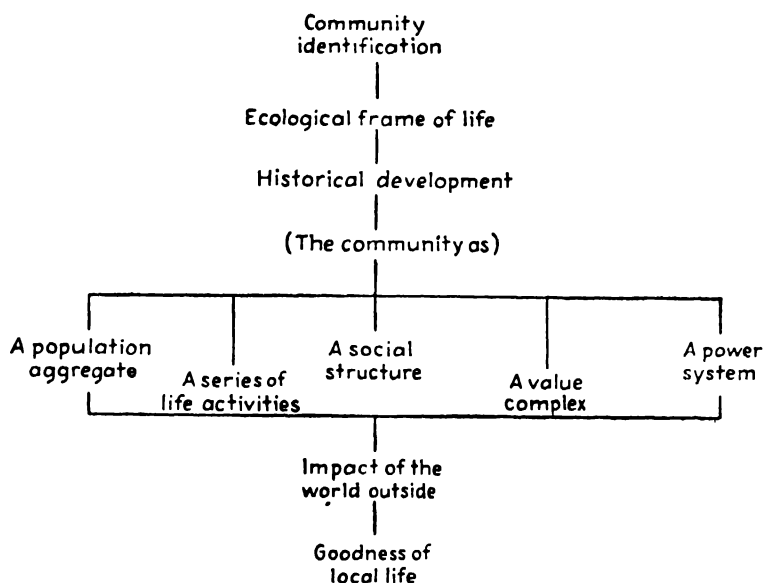


FIG. 3. A frame of reference for community study.

If then, one were doing a report, his aims and study techniques could be explained.

The *ecological frame* describes the community as a spatial world of climate, soil, land uses, road pattern, town plan, service area, population make-up, and service institutions. The point would be to focus on the geographic factors which seem to influence the life and culture of the community, especially the system of communications uniting people.

Every community is, in time perspective, a growth process; hence our next interest would be in *historical development*.

The kind of history most common in sociological study is not a chronology, a year-by-year account of the past. It is a "natural history," such as "nature scientists" write about plants and animals—their origins, struggle for existence, adaptation to habitat, migration, or death. Communities have stages in their life, for example, first settlement, growth and development, the peak of their existence, decline, revival or rebirth, and possibly eclipse. Actually, not many communities aside from "ghost towns" and war-made settlements pass completely out of existence. Usually, settlements are likely to linger along, living in memories of former times.

Life activities are what people do, how they spend their time, and they take some such form as those cited earlier in terms of the Middletown studies. What people do takes place within a preexisting cultural setting, a complex of basic institutions, customs, and traditions. The most stable part of this framework we have called the *social structure* of the place. Structure comprises all the customary avenues of contact, the interlocking groups and institutions, even the normal claims that persons make and accept one upon the other. One aspect of structure involves status relationships, the vertical ranking of people as in the caste-class system.

Values are the things people want, their goals, appraisals of worth, both positive and negative, so that any community can be studied as a *complex of values*, the general goal patterns in which all residents in theory would share. A community, too, is a *power system*, an organization of means-ends relations for the attainment or the protection of preferred values. Very little is known in a realistic sense about the distribution and uses of power in any type of community, although the concept has great significance to teachers in any school. Presumably, power centers in America in the business-industrial-commercial aspect of the culture, the so-called "businessman's group."

Just as a discussion of power is almost never found in field studies, so with the *impact of the world outside*. By this is meant, to repeat an earlier statement, the inflow of ideas, goods, social forms, moral codes, and the like, the ways of living diffused, for example, by large cities over smaller places and the

countryside. Diffusion is a two-way process, i.e., rural to urban as well, but urban stimuli are much greater.

We come now to the last category proposed for the over-all study of any community, an admittedly debatable concept of the *goodness of life*. In its origins, community study was a practical effort to get facts with which to cure some social ill, for instance, poverty or crime. As sociology has become increasingly scientific, this interest has been replaced by a more objective concern for area life, especially the functioning of local institutions in meeting basic human needs.

Thorndike appraised 310 middle-sized cities for their "livability" for average persons by means of a statistical "goodness-of-life" scale.⁶ Ranges, as well as averages, on parts of the scale were rather startling. For instance, Muncie, Indiana, a community to be studied in a later chapter, rated 36 on a scale of 17 to 62. Whatever may be said in criticism of Thorndike's work,⁷—and its statistics do seem questionable—he has objectified the feel for area difference which every schoolman knows. Here is a good place to live and teach, a place with marked community spirit, while there, over the hill a few miles away, is the reverse. We suspect that these are important facts to know and that social scientists will keep on in their studies until the record is made clear.

STUDENT COMMUNITY BACKGROUNDS

The purpose of the chapter has been to create a framework for community study, to open the field for successive case studies of communities of varying size. A definition was presented, and students were asked to judge if the Hollow Folk lived in places of this nature. The community concept was then related to other terms in common usage, after which American communities were typed and a general plan of study proposed. We want to conclude with a statement on the community backgrounds of college students and their potential use in a school and community course.

⁶ E. L. Thorndike, *Your City*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1939.

⁷ Robert B. Cantrick, "A Pragmatic Test of Thorndike's GG," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941), 864-868.

College students like to study their home-town ways of life, persons they call "characters," area conditions, social problems, and school services to people. They will make trips, conduct interviews, take photographs, clip newspapers, draw maps, lead panels, and write reports. Sensing the strength of this motivation, it is easy to make it fairly central in a class. For example, a teacher can post a large map, asking students to locate their communities. If this system is followed for a while, a discussion will fall naturally into patterns of "What does Gulf Port say about this?" or "How does Springfield do that?" Students have even addressed one another in class by names of communities in preference to given names.

To what extent do college classes in educational sociology make use of student community backgrounds and experiences? In a sampling study in 1947 of 50 representative users of the first edition of the present book, replies were as follows:

USE MADE OF STUDENT BACKGROUNDS

- 12 professors: no use of student community backgrounds
- 18 professors: regular use in connection with text, student problems
- 8 professors: student term papers and reports on home-town communities
- 6 professors: field study, *i.e.*, trips to home towns, reports
- 2 professors: course is a study of student communities, all readings incidental, text used as a reference book
- 4 professors: no reply to inquiry

Of the community-use plans reported in detail, some centered in formal study, for instance, population data, community structure and changes. Others appeared to be directed toward a functional analysis of communities as ways of living—who runs the town, local gossip, the problems of young people, community institutions, school and community relations. Obviously, community study shows an extreme range, so much so that every college class might well be encouraged to develop its own community-use and study plan.

Problems and Projects

1. In how many different communities do you live? Does each "place" you name meet the criteria set up in the definition of com-

munity as given in the chapter? How can one tell "how much" of a community any place is, that is, what kinds of data would he gather?

2. From the standpoint of what you now know about the community concept, were the upper Hollow settlements true communities? Where, to be very specific, did they fall short?

3. Are you acquainted personally with so-called hill people? If so, tell about their general way of life. What are their health problems? Their work pursuits? Uses of leisure? We-group feeling? Their religion?

4. Did the teacher do right in condemning Mazie's behavior in the Hollow Folk case? Why or why not? How would you have proceeded in this case? What, in your opinion, would justify your actions?

5. For a general perspective on the type of life lived by all isolated people, make a 10-minute class report on the gist of Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (1947), 293-308. Conclude your report by listing points in the article that are not clear to you.

6. Outline on the blackboard the "frame of reference for community study and action" as presented in the chapter. Hold a round-table discussion of this outline, with participants talking about parts of concern to them. What terms in the outline are least clear to you?

7. Prepare a paper, to be handed in at some later date, on your own home-town community, using Fig. 3 as a basis of your report. Write concretely and frankly under each of the headings in the outline just what your community is like, how its life goes on.

8. From what official sources can you find data on the community in which you are now living, that is, your college community? For types of "secondary data," sources, etc., see Edmund deS. Brunner, "How to Study a Community," *Teachers College Record*, 42 (1941), 483-492.

9. For a more thorough analysis of the community concept in modern sociology, plus trends in community study, read and report on "Human Ecology," in Georges Gurvitz and Wilbur Moore, *Twentieth Century Sociology*, pp. 466-499 (Philosophical Library, New York, 1945).

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CHAPTER 4

HAMLETS, VILLAGES, AND TOWNS

"Our mountain men," writes a student, "are almost incapable of concerted action. They are knit together, man to man, but not as a body of men." The same cannot be said of the nation's hamlets, villages, and towns. Here is loyalty, not only to kin and friend, but to the area as a whole. Here are traditions of the good neighbor, the town meeting, and care of the needy. Whatever the faults and lacks of these places, they are America's most familiar form of community life. Standing between country and city, they bear the strong imprint of both. Though facing both ways, they have individuality, so much so that no two are identical. Any concrete description, though patterned with care, must be tested as to "fit" by students who would apply it to places they know best.

We know that rural America is changing, that everywhere, to a degree, it feels the impact of urban ways. How do village and town-centered communities react to the stream of things and influences pouring in on them from cities? What is life like in small places, and how does it shape personality? What institutions meet the needs of people, and what can be said about the quality of their services? How, in particular, do young people fare, and how many are potential migrants to cities? What is the position of the "fragment" (small place) in the total society, the outlook for the future? These are significant problems, and each receives some answer in the case that follows.

PLAINVILLE: PRESENT AND FUTURE

In comparing full-length, lifelike case studies of village-centered communities, we have been impressed with the authentic detail of the Plainville research.¹ The viewpoint is that of an

¹ James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945. Data have been used from this book, with the publisher's permission,

anthropologist, the method chiefly participant observation, and the form of the story is typical of such accounts of primitive and modern peoples. The village itself, numbering 275 people, is in the central part of the nation, in a "north-south" border state of Ozark ranges and prairie croplands and pastures. All names in the case, as in other illustrations, are fictitious, a convention of long standing in case study.

PLAINVILLE: U.S.A.

Research Site, Aims, and Methods. Plainville was found quite by accident. Seeking a small community in the southern Midwest states, one as "level" as possible in its total way of life, the researcher visited about thirty village and town centers. And then, on a flinty, hilly road, his car broke down, keeping him for two days in Plainville for repairs. "These days convinced me," he writes, "that this was the town I had been looking for." It had over sixty homes and a dozen stores and "was smaller than I had intended to select." But natives bragged of its survival, saying that "paved highways ain't killed it" and that it "filled up with people every Saturday night." They claimed to be "a plain old class of common working people," no very rich, no very poor, "absence" of class lines for which the researcher was looking.

As field data accumulated, the original aim of describing the full round of community life shifted somewhat to an emphasis on "socialization" (the birth to death cycle of individuals), and the social class system which, surprisingly, turned out to be a matter of "enormous complexity." Third, finding a great deal of social change in process, this seemed a good chance to study a village culture undergoing rapid transformation.

It took about two months to make "satisfactory research contacts," with community members being at first suspicious and resentful. "My residence with the county agent helped vouch for me . . . and I gained the cooperation of a high prestige politician who, by the same techniques he used in his work, set rumor to working for me." Mostly, the investigator "idled" on streets and in stores, talking with people, or invited them to visit him in a home he had rented. Some informants were paid for their life histories, with high-school boys and girls doing papers on the topic of "I Remember."

and from supplementary material, chiefly chapters in Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*. The original volume should be read as a whole.

The Place and Its History. A traveler comes to Plainville on a cross-country highway, climbing ridges and crossing narrow valleys, then off onto a rocky dirt road, past small farm homes, small grain and hay fields. Plainville, with a population of 275, is 5 miles from the county seat, with 250 people, 11 from Stanton, 450 population, and 30 miles from a town of 1,000. Sixty miles away is a city of 60,000, where villagers go for unusual purchases, movies, and medical

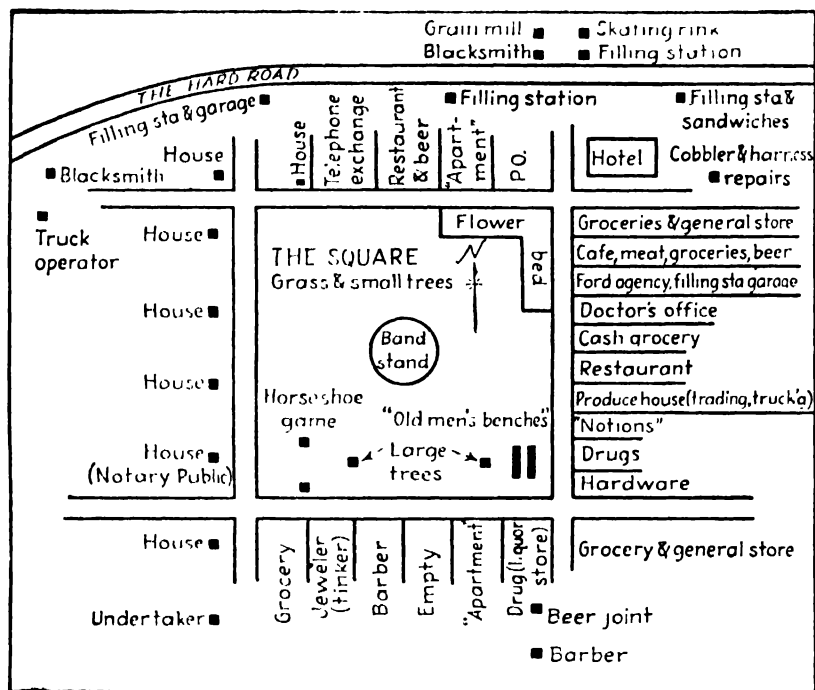


FIG. 4. Plainville, population 275. (From James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, p. 22, Columbia University Press, New York, 1915. Used by permission.)

care. The "square," especially on Saturday night, has the appearance of bustling activity. Farmers market eggs and cream; women buy groceries, children run and shout in the streets; youth drink cokes at lunch counters and play juke boxes; old men loaf along the sidewalk and under the shade trees.

Settlement dates back to the 1830's when trappers began to enter the country. Successive waves of migrants, chiefly English and Scotch-Irish, have come in, cleared and farmed small holdings of land, intermingled and intermarried. In 1910, the population of the county was

about 10,000, declining since with exception of the 1930's when the depression brought many migrants home. Farm land, once producing 50 bushels of corn to the acre, now yields about 19 bushels, and similarly with wheat and oat crops. Shallow hillsides, brush and scrub timber shelter many "hillbilly" families, living a chaney life in comparison with prairie farm-owning neighbors.

Aspects of Material Culture. Technology shows a tremendous change since pioneering days. Tractors, threshers, cream separators, sewing machines, etc. have replaced traditional hand-labor processes. Two-thirds of the village homes have electric lights, but farmhouses are still lighted by kerosene lamps. A third of the farmers are on party telephone lines, rural mail delivery is daily, and the *Beacon*, the county newspaper, circulates about one thousand copies. A number of papers and magazines come from the outside, and radios are considered a virtual necessity. Automobiles are fairly numerous and, to some, are the "doom and ruination" of the country.

Villagers are rather fully aware of job opportunities in the nation and, in each generation, about half the youth "go outside." Most local workers are farmers (owners and tenants); others do trucking, run small shops and stores, or are in professional services such as school teaching. About half the boys and more than half the girls go to high school, but only a few go on to college. To these, school teaching has been a favorite calling, usually as a step into business or marriage. A few boys acquire a vision from their excellent "ag" courses of becoming county agents, soil chemists, and scientific farmers. Few occupations, except teaching, are open to girls, almost all of whom look forward to marriage.

Homes are log cabins, framehouses and walled-in shacks. Newer houses are box shaped, 24 × 28 feet, and divided into four small rooms. The largest houses are one or two stories, with seven to eight rooms. Few homes have "modern conveniences," except for electric lights. Water is carried in buckets from wells, wood stoves are used for heating, front yards have grass and flowers, back yards gardens and perhaps a chicken-house. Eating is done in the kitchen, sitting-rooms have "old-style" or "modern" furniture, and siblings of the same sex sleep together. For ordinary wear, men and boys dress in blue denim overalls and women in cheap, ready-made print dresses. "Dress-up" clothes are worn for trips "down town," for church, family reunions, and other meetings. At funerals, the height of formal dress is apparent, for persons who never otherwise go to church "must show respect for the dead."

Two economies mark the life of the area: a money economy and a subsistence (or use) economy. Mostly, daily living requires little "cash money," with over a fifth of the farmers reporting in 1939 an income under \$250. At the other extreme, 5 of the 1,300 farms in the county had incomes from \$6,000 to \$10,000. All such reports omit returns from nonfarming sources: fishing, trapping, berry picking, and odd jobs. While it is commonly said that "no one here ever goes hungry," there is "real poverty, with suffering," and "real wealth, with sufficiency." The staple meat is "hog meat," with an average family butchering three to six hogs a year. The main vegetable is potatoes, with families storing their winter supply of 20 or more bushels. Orchards do not thrive so that little fruit is eaten. On farms, income from eggs, poultry, and cream belongs to the women, and with it they pay the small expenses met in "running the home," their traditional domain.

About half the "owner-operated" farms are mortgaged at interest rates of 6 to 8 per cent, creating for most farmers a heavy financial and moral burden. In 1940, the average age of these owners was 56.1 years, for farm tenants 40.3 years, suggesting a time span in positions on "the agricultural ladder." Since 1938, a county agent has worked at introducing newer farming methods, for example, crop rotation, better livestock, sanitation, diet changes, and general program planning. Most businessmen, like farmers, keep few or no records—at least no accurate records—so that estimating sales tax, income tax, etc., is "a headachy business." Earnings are invested in land, "the only thing of real value," but land does not any more bring the "natural increase" in sale value which it did in earlier times.

General Social Structure. To a city dweller, Plainville might appear as "backward," lagging far behind the times. Change is slow, with even speech and movement seeming slower than elsewhere. Young people say "there's nothin' to do, away off here, away from ever'place." Older people look back to the "good ol' times," claiming now that "ever'body here has an infer'ity complex." They often apologize for "this pore town," for its "ignorance" and "not knowin' how to act." At the same time, they brag about the low cost of living, cheap farming land, churchly stress on morals, and open resistance to "law," to schooling, and to dietary and other changes. Aside from their "independence," villagers most highly prize "sociability." Time and again, one is asked if he has "ever found friendlier people anywhere," is invited repeatedly "to stay for dinner" or "to stay all night." Toward "outsiders" who are not trusted, friendship is not offered until

their business is made known, and even then as a rule but very, very slowly. Full acceptance comes only if status ties can be made with leading families in the community.

The central unit in the general social structure is the "kinship system," including the immediate family and larger kin group. Kin terms and ways of treating relatives are an English heritage, strong in past times but weakened today by migration, the use of money, machinery, and other factors. Visiting is less, family reunions are fewer, the aged are not so welcome in children's homes, parents find it difficult to teach "respect," and youth laugh at "old-fashioned ways." Yet villagers still live "surrounded by kin," and, where "duties" are shirked, the sharp eyes and tongues of neighbors aid in their enforcement.

Care of children is largely a mother's job, although fathers teach sons about as much as mothers do. The ideal child is "docile, obedient, and willing to work." He never questions parental authority. He learns early to distinguish male work from "women's work" and tends to help a sister much less than she helps him. He must protect a sister or a younger brother and, in adult life, fight for the "honor" of the sister if occasion demands. At all times, he can be "sassy" to any person not of his immediate family, and, in early childhood, "sassiness" is considered very "cute."

Most parents feel "sad" about the marriage of a son or daughter, especially mothers, since "women have more tender feelings than men." Young people make their own matches, with mothers often introducing "young folks who should meet." It is "not right" to marry a "close cousin," though such "backwoods marriages" do occur. Marriages are rather permanent, with less than ten divorces granted per year in the county. Violence between marriage mates is rare, and when it does occur, such persons are looked down upon. Parental families help a couple start up in farming or in business, usually by "going note" for a small bank loan. The chief political machine in the county, called by some "the worst racket here," is an extended family group. The banking business of the area is organized on a family basis.

Villagers speak often of their "neighbors," of "neighboring with," and "the neighborhood" (section) in which they live. Usually neighbors include the nearby households, for example the eight or so farm homes within easy walking distance for a man, his wife, and children. Although spatial nearness is the common basis of close social relations, this is not always true. An old quarrel, say, a "line fence fuss," crops damaged by a neighbor's livestock, children's fights, the too intimate attention of some married man, the feeling of "class" or "moral" dif-

ferences, may shift relations to a "not-speaking" basis. Telephone lines have extended the area of neighboring, as has church membership, economic exchange such as threshing or butchering, and school attendance. Rituals define the basis of good neighboring; for example, "tools should be returned in good shape"; if a farmer cannot work a harvesting he should send a "hand," and all adults "help in sickness or in death." One can "borrow too often" and "return less than he took"; he can gossip too much.

Until late years, the little one-room schoolhouse stood near the center of each neighborhood in the county, a symbol of its being, its unity and independence. In addition to being the place where children learned the three R's, schools were area centers of adult socials, holiday celebrations, Sunday preaching, and public meetings. Consolidation came with better roads and the automobile, beginning about 1920, so that today only eight small schools, all "in the hills," are left in the Plainville area. In each case, consolidation was voted by area dwellers only after "friction and fraction," with many persons still blaming this change for the "destruction" of old-time neighbor ties.

Buses now bring children from miles about to the village consolidated school, a combined grade and high school. About 85 per cent of the eligible children attend the elementary school, and over half go on to high school. Attendance is still very irregular, owing to truancy, sickness, bad roads, and parental unconcern, so that an average child misses about a fourth of his required 160 to 180 school days.

The high school has a fairly traditional curriculum, with little that is taught being of any apparent use to students. Bookkeeping and typing, for example, are almost useless in Plainville, so that children are, in a sense, educated to migrate cityward. The domestic-science teacher has had no domestic-science training. In American history classes, time is often spent "hashing over the last basketball game." In the school as a whole, only music and vocational "ag" are taught in relation to learner needs, and these are subjects that the adult community most ridicules and opposes.

Extracurricular activities, notably athletics, are very popular with high-school youngsters. Basketball contests with other high schools are held weekly during a large part of the year. They are well attended, despite opposition on moral grounds, and the village "goes all out" for a winning team. Oratoricals and debates are still conducted, with students and their visiting opponents memorizing and reciting arguments which their coaches have purchased for them. "People remember all the star athletes," said the "ag" teacher, "but they don't

even know about the many prizes my boys take every year." His students have made impressive records in 4-H clubwork, in state livestock judging contests, and in Future Farmer projects.

For the area, it is clear that the high school represents "a new focus of community life and ritual." To those who approve and attend school events, such as sports, plays and the like, the school is a symbol of "modernity," a visual reminder that the place "is just as up-to-date as other places." At commencement, people fill the largest church auditorium. Graduates sit on the platform, and in honor of all that is about to befall them, they are "scrubbed and shined," dressed up and nervous. One by one, the rites are conducted, until at last, the "speaker" makes the "address." Here is "the young manhood" of the community, the "hope and promise and . . . of the county." Graduates have struggled for four years, "four long, hard years," and "they have won out." Equipped now to meet the world and its problems, "they go into life with our great blessings." Few young people go to college. They try to find work in the area and, failing, drift out and are "lost" to the community.

Old-style lodges, for example, Odd Fellows, Woodmen, and Masons, have been replaced to an extent by newer kinds of clubs and cliques, chiefly for women. In the 1920's, many people joined the K.K.K. and burnt fiery crosses, but the movement soon died down. "Course," said an informant, "they didn't really have no niggers or Catholics to hate. About all we've got to hate is each other and the gub'ment." In the early 1940's, the WPA tried to start a library and adult classes, but the school superintendent and others felt it was wrong for "tax money to be spent just for fun." The most stable and active organizations are the clubs, committees, and the like, started by the county agent. Luncheon and service clubs, with a strong "booster" flavor, are popular among business people.

Two-thirds of the adults in the county are normally Republicans, the rest are Democrats except for a handful of Socialists. Politics is pretty much a man's job, and women tend to "vote along" with their husbands. A man is born into his political party, as he is born into the church of his parents. While he recognizes crookedness within the party, when his party is in power he tends to support its leaders. The party out of power accuses the other of incessant sinning: vote buying, favoritism, and graft. Political patronage is small because there are few jobs to fill, few contracts to let. Usually, the Republicans win all the local offices; yet to do so candidates must appeal to every factional grouping: rural neighborhoods, the church vote, the "whisky element,"

the "progressives," the rich, the poor, and so on. Rumor is a basic political force, though probably not so powerful as relatives, bank loans, "deals," and general morals.

Law and order in Plainville show much the same pattern as in other smaller places. Before the advent of the auto, the catchall charge for handling undesirable conduct was "disturbing the peace." When drunks started "to holler or fight," they were thrown into jail and fined, whereas now they are arrested when they start their cars. "Driving while intoxicated" is a more serious charge and easier to prove. An even larger number of court cases involves stealing—petty thievery to burglary. Years ago, court sessions brought the whole countryside to town, "just like a picnic or camp meeting," but today they are shorter and more businesslike. Kin feuds occur less than formerly, with fist fights and "cuttings" on the wane. Land disputes are much less frequent, for land rights are better marked and livestock has been fenced in. Most laws are disliked by most people, and some, for example, game laws, are hated intensely by many who resent "outside interference" and prefer to enforce their own concepts of rights and duties.

Loafing, gossiping groups are a basic feature of village life. Church members talk together at the church door or around the stove before and after services. Merchants spend long hours at their stores, chiefly with intimates who gather to sit, talk, chew, smoke, and whittle. Every loafing group, while not formally organized, involves a central nucleus of members, a communion of interest and a common meeting place. Here, daily, past times are relived; daily happenings are hashed over, tragedies lamented, old jokes retold. In gossip, people not only exchange ideas; they maintain a rigorous control over the life of the community.

There are many religious nonbelievers in Plainville, though few openly express their views for fear of social condemnation. Mostly people belong to some Protestant sect, with the Church of Christ group at the top of the social hierarchy, then the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Church of God, Holiness. Revival meetings bring big crowds; preaching is of the fiery "repent-and-be-saved" type; converts and "backsliders" are numerous. Holiness people in particular have "a seven-day-a-week religion," living out their ideals in everyday behavior. Each church has young people's organizations, a Ladies' Aid, mission societies, and a Sunday school for all age levels. Most children join church at ages of 12 and 14, confessing "sins" and promising to live in line with church teachings. Sunday is "church day" throughout

the area, but churchgoing is declining, while "pleasurin' onese'f" is increasing.

Social Structure: The Class System. The class system of the community is a kind of "supersocial organization" in that it provides a "master pattern" whereby all persons, every family, clique, church, and other grouping, are arranged according to relative rank, worth, and behavior. Yet most Plainvillers strongly deny its existence, being vocal only on distinctions between outsiders and natives. Higher-ups speak more frankly about the class system than do persons nearer the

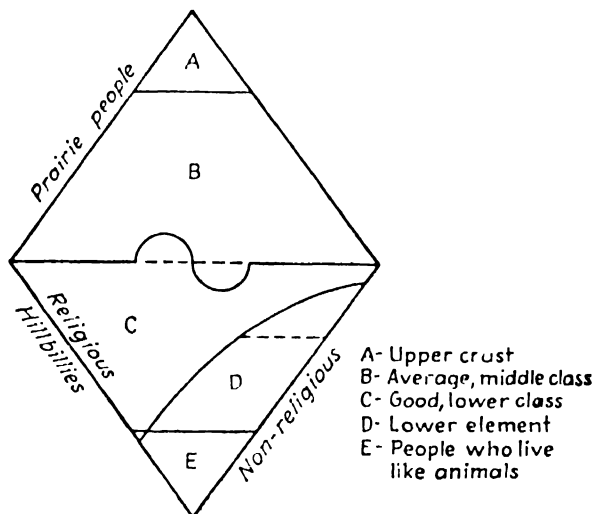


FIG. 5. Plainville's social classes. (Adapted from James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, p. 117, Columbia University Press, New York, 1945. Used by permission.)

bottom, showing much less interest in maintaining the fiction of living in a classless society.

The class system, as it appears to average "better class" persons, is seen in Fig. 5, a diagram drawn "after listening for 15 months to hundreds of people discuss, criticize, ridicule, condemn, and approve their neighbors." It shows roughly the status relations of the nearly 300 family units in the area. People do not agree on the traits that enter into their ratings of other people, usually "addin' ever'thing up I know and strikin' an average." Before inquiring further into the criteria used in ratings, it is well to understand the several social classes.

The "backbone" of the community is said to be "the good, honest, self-respecting, working people," the people who are "all right," "solid,"

average, or "better class." This is the upper class of the community, with a few families near the top known as "the upper crust," the families who "stand out." The other half of the population belongs to the lower class, but it is more differentiated. People most like upper class people in work habits, personal morals, ambitions, etc., are called "good lower class people." Below them is a somewhat more numerous group, "the lower element," and still lower are people who are considered as almost subhuman, i.e., "they live like animals." In sum, the Plainville system is a two-class system, with an "upper crust" forming the top level of the better class and with two lower elements at the bottom of the lower class.

Residence is one factor which enters into status ratings. Better class people live on the prairie; lower class people live "back in the hills." Another factor is technology, the great bulk of the machinery being on prairie farms and, of course, not profitable or useful in hill-land "patch farming." Lineage is a third, and very important, basis of stratification, with family lines ranging from "the best" through average to "no accounts" and "trash." Wealth, or in local terms "worth," is a fourth factor, with business, professional, and prairie farmers favored. Morals, the fifth factor, is given much lip service and, to an extent, is made the basis of prestige rating: honesty, temperance, hard work, churchgoing, and similar virtues. The sixth factor is manners which, in a way, includes all behavioral criteria. It is said of lower class people, for example, that "they live like they do because they don't know any better." They are rough, profane, and obscene; they "just drink, dance, and carouse."

A significant characteristic of the class system is the belief that "anybody can rise; he can git where he wants if he's got the grit." The idea comes from the days when free land was to be had for the taking and when everybody "knew that poor boys made millions" out of expanding businesses. In effect, mobility now is very difficult, a favored technique being to leave the community, "make good," and return to a higher status. This pathway to success is, of course, more hazardous for lower class boys; yet their incentive to leave is very great. For girls, it is still more dubious, barring what is called locally a "lucky marriage."

Socialization of Young People. In Plainville, as elsewhere, the most fundamental of all social distinctions is between the two sexes. From the cradle to the grade, a boy is taught and must never forget that he is a male; a female, that she has her own inborn nature, life, and destiny.

Almost a hundred babies are born each year, about twice the number of "old folks" who die. Most married couples want children, with "planned families" generally looked upon askance. There is a large but waning folklore about prenatal influence, a ready explanation of harelip, birthmarks, and abnormalities. Doctors usually officiate at childbirth, though "granny women" still practice midwifery. Parents claim to love all children equally; yet often the youngest child, or "baby," so-called up to any age, is favored. Some babies are "raised by the book," whereas others "just seem to grow, without any care." Weaning is done between 12 and 24 months, and sphincter control occurs at the age of about two years. Girl babies are admired as "pretty" more than boy babies, play with dolls, and wear lace and ribbons. They are said to give less trouble than do boys, to learn faster and obey better.

People differ in the amount of physical punishment a child should receive, though there is a great deal of "whuppin'" up to the age of twelve or so. "I shame oftener than I whip," said an upper class mother, "but I reason as often as I shame." Girls are taught not to act like boys, to learn homekeeping arts, to look forward to marriage and a home of their own. Both sexes distinguish between serious conversation and "kidding," answering the latter with "wisecracks" and "smart-alecky" comments. Fathers stand less "back talk" than mothers, and few parents "take correction" from a child.

Child socialization is furthered, of course, by the school, play groups, Sunday school, youth gangs, and other influences. Whether or not it tends to build a definite rural personality pattern, in distinction to urban personality types, is a debatable matter.

Outlook for the Future. Change has been accelerated during the past decade and will, undoubtedly, continue to accelerate. Plainvillers today "show every conceivable degree" of understanding and misunderstanding, acceptance and disapproval of modern "urban ways" of living. The job opportunities provided youth are not numerous, except for favored sons and daughters at or near the top of the class system. It is doubtful if children learn much of use in the high school, aside from the "ag" work, so that they enter adult life with only a smattering of general education. As long as the community produces more youngsters than it can accommodate, many will migrate, although each parent hopes that his child will not be the one to go. A great problem of the area is to participate more fully in the outside world, to modernize its school and other institutions, to share more completely in the varied life and rewards of the nation as a whole.

On repeated trials, the Plainville case has been of interest to students. It can be analyzed in itself or brought into comparison with student backgrounds. All authorities agree as to a "lag" in rural areas but, with the admission, all too often seem to feel that the problem has been solved. Labeling a problem does not, of course, solve it. The need is to think about the Plainvillers of the nation, the many hamlet and village communities, and what can be done to understand and improve their ways of living.

WHO ARE THE VILLAGE PEOPLE?

Rural dwellers and villagers have certain distinguishing marks as a population aggregate. They are predominately of native stock. In comparison with city people, they have higher ratios of young children and elderly persons and in general a larger percentage of women. Each of these characteristics helps one to appreciate their life and culture. For example, the preponderance of elders, many of whom are retired farmers, is a causative factor in community conservatism. Elders are the tradition bearers of a society, the enforcers of conventional mores. Often, too, they are a propertied class, living from rents and interest. They may see no reason to tax themselves for modern improvements or to support school consolidation. From life they want peace and quiet, stability and continuity, not excitement, new laws, and changes.

One can learn much about what any people are like by listening to them talk, by recording and analyzing their ordinary conversations. Teachers in urban schools have found this a profitable form of community study, a way of improving their interpretation of pupil anecdotal records.

In village areas, farming provides the major data of informal man-to-man conversation—crops, prices, weather, soils, machinery, and animals. Weather, for instance, is a constant concern to farmers, a *bête noire* against which one struggles. Hunting and fishing are prime conversational topics. Talk centers on any happening to people, any event that is news—births, deaths, illness, change of job, tint of scandal. If A digs his potatoes, if B makes a trip to town, if C misses church, if Mrs. D is "ex-

pectin'," notice is taken. If young teachers hang a Monday wash on a back-yard clothesline, the shades and shapes of garments will be known by everyone. Apparently, "the more one knows about people, the more interesting he finds them," especially if the persons are prestige-bearers.

As to the outside world, Plainvillers seemed uninterested and uninformed, politics and "gu'bment" being exceptions. Elsewhere, townsmen show lively interest in the run of national news, the doings of foreign powers, business problems, murder trials, any headlined happening.

The function of talk in intimate groupings can be misjudged by an outsider. For example, several farmers were sitting in a country store when a young teacher, a newcomer to the area, walked in. "Looks like rain," he remarked affably. There was no response, and the teacher made some other comment. Finally, an old-timer asked: "What might your name be, son?" "James Hammond. My gran'pa lived just up the road a piece." "Oh, old Bill Hammond," said the farmer, with nods all around. "Ye-es, now, it does look a leetle like rain." By chance, the stranger had hit upon a certain method of identification, a claim of kinship within the community.

A clearer case comes from an insightful study of a New York state township, a book unsurpassed in dealing with village life and its mental content.²

An oldtimer makes a statement that he has heard a hundred times to the same listeners, and the listeners respond with the comments they have invariably offered. The oldtimer, it seems to me, is talking for the sake of talking—that is, for the sake of establishing a relationship within the group. He is also affirming a basic truth and to him the truth does not have to be novel.

People may talk in order to talk rather than to say something, a trait carried over to larger talk fests, for instance, the usual run of schoolboard meetings, and yet it is easy to misjudge a speaker's intent.

² Granville Hicks, *Small Town*, pp. 102, 144, 207, Macmillan, New York, 1947. Quotes used by permission. See also the author's novel, *Only One Storm*.

When Harry Dakin conducts a meeting, he is endlessly tolerant of digression, and there is no herring too red for him to follow. . . . I usually grow impatient, but now and then his least logical sallies bring forth facts in light of which I find myself changing my opinions. His method is perhaps the more natural way of attacking a problem than mine. I move or try to move in a straight line. He draws a circle and then explores the area inside it until he feels that he knows where he is. Furthermore, he wants other people to know where they are, and he believes that conviction takes time—even if the time is apparently misspent.

To understand village people, one needs to gather population data about them, an age-sex pyramid, occupations, educational status, income, and the like. But he needs even more conceptions of their *life space*, the psychological room so to speak in which they live, feel, and perceive the world. To say, as rural sociologists do, that farm folk are individualistic, conservative, stubborn, and suspicious, can be true within specific contexts, yet very false if applied to the in-group space where such people really live and have their being. That one can like farm people and their village-centered living can come as a surprise to persons reared in the touch-and-go of big-city existence.

And yet . . . I have learned to like trading in a store where I am known by name and can meet friends and swap gossip. I like knowing the storekeeper not only as a man behind the counter but also as a human being. I feel that I know what I am doing when I vote for or against men I have seen again and again in a hundred different situations, men I have talked with and heard talked about. I like the old-timers, too, though they don't always like me. . . . Their talk gives the town a past, and sometimes it makes smart city folks seem shallow. . . . In short, I like living in a small town.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As one spins a global map of the nation, hamlets, villages, and small towns are not in evidence; no black dots show the tremendous total of these "fragments." No wonder then, to the city dweller, that they are mailing addresses or "whistle stops," although railroads run through very few of them. Little places are service centers for the adjacent countryside, jammed up as

a rule against each other and no more than a livable distance from one or more big places. To fix the picture in mind, one should diagram a bit of territory and study its settlement pattern.

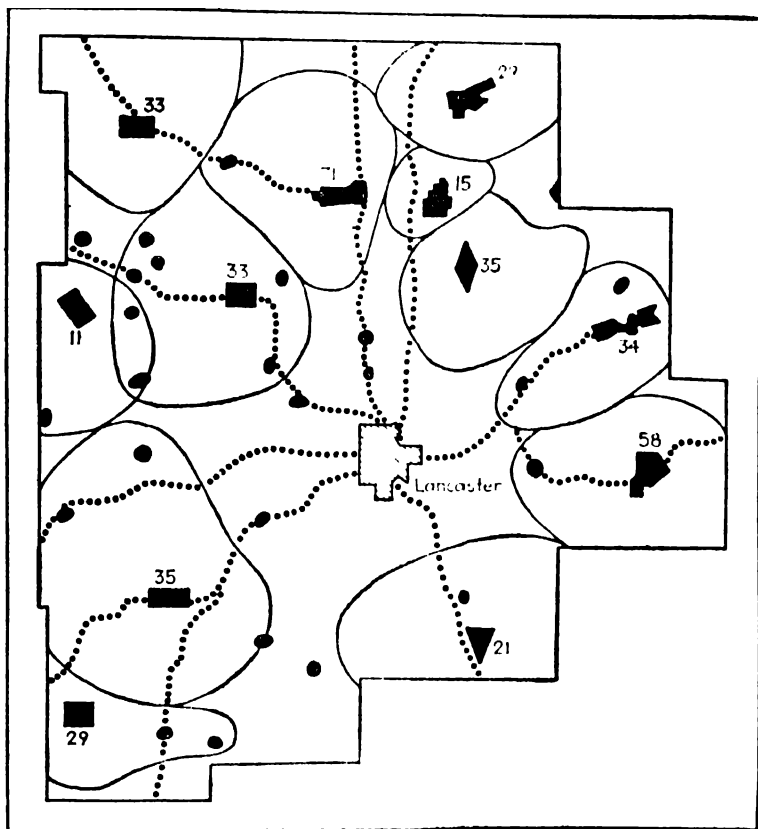


FIG. 6. Fairfield county trade centers and service areas. (Adapted from C. E. Lively, *Ohio State University Bulletin* 91. Used by permission.)

Fairfield County, Ohio, illustrates the relation of lesser and greater places to one another. This county, within a few miles of Columbus, comprises an area of 495 square miles. Land is rolling to level, with over three thousand farms.

From Fig. 6, it will be seen that the county has 12 village trade centers with populations of 298 to 1,436 and 25 lesser ham-

lets included, for the most part within the areas or "basins" of the larger places. No center is nearer to Lancaster, the county seat, than 6 miles, and villages are 12 miles or more away, thus defining a "region of dominance" within which no settlement can exist because of competition with the county-seat city. Community boundaries, based on field study of family uses of village service institutions, are indicated on the map, as are the main highways.

Table 3 is a summary of data on the 12 larger villages. It shows the close positive relation of village size with number of businesses and social groups and extent of service area.

TABLE 3. SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN FAIRFIELD COUNTY, OHIO *

Number	Service centers			Service areas		
	Population	Businesses	Groups	Square miles	Population	Groups
1	1,436	71	87	41	1,271	29
2	1,232	58	80	45	1,308	16
3	557	35	47	61	1,775	8
4	495	35	46	23	690	1
5	339	34	31	33	775	20
6	366	33	33	40	1,120	17
7	351	33	29	37	1,117	10
8	475	29	39	35	878	9
9	393	29	30	22	583	3
10	388	24	26	41	1,205	10
11	430	15	23	11	291	9
12	298	11	31	23	697	6
	6,760	404	502	402	11,460	138

*Adapted from C. E. Lively, *Ohio State University Bulletin* 91, 1936.

The relationship of community, while symbolized by these external phenomena, is not basically expressed by them. Its essence, in rural areas, is *neighborliness*, which in itself is a complete code of living. Neighborliness rests upon a simple fact, the fact of interdependence. One needs neighbors, and neighbors need him, come good times or bad, day in and out, the year around. And too, there is the fact of proximity; a person can scarcely ignore the misfortunes and affairs of people he sees every day.

In-group living does not mean, of course, the absence of conflict. Bitterest quarrels are family quarrels, bitterest fights the line-fence feuds. Much of this is suggested in a student paper which also reveals how the small community shapes and assimilates an incoming stranger. The writer is the daughter of the minister, hence has an inside view of the family ups and downs.

COMMUNITY CONFLICTS AND INFLUENCES

I can remember four small towns in which we have lived. It seems almost as if we were always on the move . . . always trying to revive dead churches. We took our present charge in Medick, population 873, over a year ago. Here, as in other places, our coming was an event. "They say he is a right good man," "I heard this was his second wife," "packed 'em in over at Rossiter, folks say," and "three of the children will be in high school." These comments and others were in the air.

The church's problems, or rather the religious problems of the community, drifted to us. J. P. Holt, an aged deacon, would have none of "the newfangled religion." Sam Bolig, converted at the last revival, was already backsliding. Mrs. Sarg, the organist, and Mrs. Manning, a leading member of the choir, were not speaking. Old man Sands was still living out of wedlock with his housekeeper. God's work in foreign fields must be supported in spite of hard times. Union services were all right for Klineman, an adjacent village, but not for Medick. The "youth problem" grew worse every day and the preacher, if he was to remain, must somehow win the young to Christ. He must also be a good mixer and be able to increase contributions to the church budget.

I would say that the minister's family is always held in by community beliefs. People seem to see in us children what their own should be but aren't. Were we to sin, and it's difficult not to do so in view of Medick's rigid notions, it would be a reflection on father. I could not date the boy I admired most because he was by way of being a village character. If I went to the Klineman Pool to swim, I was reprimanded by one innuendo or another. My dresses were scrutinized and mother thought it best that I refrain from wearing ankle socks. I dared not attend the public dances . . .

I believe that real religion is at low ebb in Medick. I do not refer to "the sinfulness of the young," or to Sunday leisure pursuits, or to the run-down state of our church. I refer to the intolerance of our congregation, to its petty prejudices, splits, and schisms. We do a great amount of good in the community, yet we cannot do our best because of

personal squabbles, doctrinal differences, and a general apathy toward the need for a social program. Sometimes, when I feel in a pessimistic mood, I think of the old, old song: "we are not divided; all one body we." This is, I fear, not true of Medick's churches.

THE SOCIAL CLASS SYSTEM

We take pride in our nation on the absence of a class system. We are a democracy, and a democracy, presumably, cannot tolerate class or even recognize it. In Hollow Folk areas, surveyors found no generalized status levels. Individuals seemed to be rated and treated pretty much in terms of personal worth. Furthermore, even in communities like Plainville, the whole of life is tied together by common values, for example, neighborliness, and many of these values exist as a kind of American creed throughout the entire nation. These are unity values, or core values, which bind the whole community together. But in Plainville, too, the researcher found a "kind of supersocial organization," a class system of "great complexity."

The class system, as a research orientation, stems in part from "Yankee City" studies to be reviewed in the next chapter. In essence, it is a "prestige structure," a rating of people by people who know them or claim to know them in terms of status values. West believed these values to be residence, technology, lineage, wealth, morals, and manners. People who "live in the same way," that is, possess the same values, tend to be grouped into general prestige positions, and these positions, *in toto*, constitute one or more basic class levels.

In Plainville, two general classes were discovered. One, called the "upper," had a "top crust," persons of greatest prestige in the community. The other, the "lower class," had two still lower strata, the bottom level being "people who lived like animals." If this pattern is kept in mind, it can be compared later with other conceptions of community prestige structure. It should be added that classes, unlike castes which are color groupings, are not closed systems. One can move up, or move down, or possibly move out, although the later point is debatable.

INSTITUTIONS AND SERVICES

People who live together inherit, create, or have imposed upon them *institutions* to meet their common needs, for example, business, government, and a school system. Each institution has a purpose, or rather a series of purposes, a structure (laws, rules, offices, etc.) through which it functions, and a personnel to conduct its services. It is through institutions that major life activities are carried on, and community organization in its most central aspect is a coordination of an area's service institutions.

Villages, as illustrated by Plainville, have a familiar pattern of social institutions—stores, offices, shops, feed mills, grain elevators, trucking services, perhaps small factories. They have schools, churches, local courts, county offices, possibly a newspaper, bank, and hospital. It is a fascinating problem to predict, ahead of actual field study, the kind and number of institutions a given place can have in terms of use and support. Prediction will go awry unless it takes account of the size and character of the village's trade basin, milkshed, or other service area. For instance, what should be the minimum enrollment of a modern, well-staffed and equipped consolidated school? How many residents must a community have before it can meet the costs of a small hospital? How can a county newspaper, in competition with the urban press, get and hold a paying circulation?

For the most part, the social institutions of the village are founded on sentiment and tradition rather than on efficiency. They are culture-preserving and transmitting devices rather than culture-creating instruments. They reflect the intimate nature of village living, its slow tempo, resistance to change, feeling of self-sufficiency, and diminishing area loyalty. To an outsider and to many natives their inefficient and competitive character is a matter of common knowledge.

WE NEED A BUSINESS MANAGER

There are 275 families in our town. Their average earning is about \$720 a year, hence our total gross income is \$198,000. I would estimate that these families have a fixed expense for utility services, insurances, and taxes of about \$47,000. This leaves a balance of \$151,000. Let

us assume that \$100,000 of this is spent with town merchants and professional men. We have 80 of these establishments, and hence each may expect an average income of \$1,250.

Within our trade area there are some 500 families. Each will spend perhaps \$500 per year, a total of \$250,000. Not over half of this will be spent in the village. Divide \$125,000 by 80, and each business concern will have \$1,562 per year. Totaling, we find that an average business or professional establishment in our town can count on grossing less than \$3,000 per year. No ordinary business can exist on that amount.

The people of course are not to blame. They are bombarded each hour of the day by radio and press advertisements, good-will tours and circulars announcing bargain sales in the city. City trucks will deliver to their doors. It is simply a trend of the times, but unless it can be altered our town cannot pay its bonded debt, keep up its schools and other institutions, and make needed improvements. This will decrease the value of the town for residential purposes, which will in turn lower tax values, which will further decrease business.

Beyond doubt we have too many businesses. One radio dealer would be sufficient but we have six. Five dealers sell electrical appliances and four shoe stores compete with each other. The same is true in other lines. Instead of 80 units trying to live off the earnings of this community, we should have not more than 30.

We need a business manager whose task would be to coordinate our commercial services. People do not desire to drive 30 or 40 miles for the vast majority of their purchases; they want to trade at home—if they can afford it. What could be done by reducing competition and improving methods is seen in the drug field. Here we have but two stores, each well stocked and each prosperous.

Whether or not a "business manager" is the answer in many small places is a matter of doubt. Some authorities have proposed a "reasonable task" specialization, the notion that villages, in view of good roads and urban competition, should specialize in the kinds of goods and services which they can best distribute. To illustrate, a village store can sell work clothes but not "dressed-up" clothes, in face of mail-order patronage. A county newspaper should have a coverage of 2,000 persons and specialize in "locals." A small hospital, to keep going, must serve an area of 10,000 or more population. A good consolidated high school

should have an enrollment of at least 300, and school costs decrease rapidly up to 500 pupils.

THE NEED FOR LOCAL-REGIONAL PLANNING

It seems certain that village life will be shaped by forces operating throughout the nation, forces at work in an interactive world where no place, as airlines like to say, is more than 48 hours distant. "Can the small community survive?" asks Hayes,³ and makes a case for its survival and enrichment. To our way of thinking, at least six conditions must be met if small places are to provide as good a life as possible for their people.

SURVIVAL VALUES FOR THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

1. A sound economic base, usually diversified agriculture and local industries in combination
2. A standard of living comparable in all material and health aspects to that of average cities
3. Integrating, coordinating activities which will bring people together under trained leadership
4. A substantial increase in youth services and facilities of a leisure-time and educational nature
5. More concern for and better care of disadvantaged and unprivileged people, including ethnic groups
6. Schools that will focus on the institutions of the area and make their nature, services, and improvement the core of general education

At meetings such ideas are joked about by laconic villagers; yet on more than one occasion in places distant from one another we have seen such proposals taken seriously. The TVA "experiment" has given impetus to local and regional planning, brought it out of the clouds so to speak and down to earth level. While writings about the TVA may glow a bit, a firsthand observer of valley developments sums up his reactions as follows: ⁴

Before the creation of TVA, conditions (in the vast river basin) were typical of . . . other parts of the United States. Timber, soil

³ Wayland J. Hayes, *The Small Community Looks Ahead*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1947.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

and mineral resources had been removed without regard to future welfare. . . . Land unsuited to cultivated crops was continually being put to such use. . . . Poverty, illness, poor diet, primitive housing, ignorance were taken for granted, regarded as the normal expectations of life.

Such conditions are being steadily and thoroughly changed. New economic and social opportunities have been made available to people. They are not only taking advantage of them but are learning new ways of utilizing community resources. . . . Out of this ferment virtually a new society is being created.

Learnings from the TVA experiment have been so many and so varied that it would pay a college class in any section of the nation to make a visit to the area. For one thing, the TVA experience would seem to support the survival values we have previously listed. Second, local planning within any small area cannot hope to succeed unless it is coordinated with a larger plan. The ideal of most worth is that of *planning within a plan*, a regional program for local area development. In this fashion, planning can combine individual initiative and concern with large-scale financing and efficiency in technical operations.

While we shall continue elsewhere with the idea of planning, the topic raises obvious questions for all school people. For instance, if our planning is to be effective, it must be taught to people young and old, setting an educational task for the school. Moreover, youngsters must have experience in group decision making, in team action in work and play, areas of instruction where Plainville schools had very little to offer. These schools were traditional schools, insulated from the community and unconcerned with its life.

To raise an even more complex question, where can communities like Plainville expect to find leadership? Is it enough for colleges to prepare good specialists, for example, "ag" teachers, home economists, or school heads? If every specialist in the place—businessmen, ministers, the agricultural agent, the more prosperous farmers—did their work well, would there still be a need for over-all coordination, for area-wide vision and concern? The problem we have raised is larger than teacher education; yet in its solution we are inclined to look to the training of

school personnel. School heads have functioned, in office and outside, as democratic leaders of public thought and action on issues involving the young people of the place. They can do much toward helping a community improve its way of life.

Problems and Projects

1. As you reflect on the Plainville case, what are the three points about the village way of life that strike you as most important?

2. Where does Plainville's mode of life differ most from that of your home-town community? From any big city which you know well?

3. Are children in your home town "docile, obedient, and willing to work"? Assuming they are this way in Plainville, how is this fact to be accounted for? How, in general, is child personality shaped in any small primary community?

4. What fiction books have you read which have helped you to understand people? Read one of the following books for a class report in connection with this chapter or the next one:

Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio*

Granville Hicks, *Only One Storm*

Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt, Main Street*

Maritta Wolfe, *Whistle Stop*

5. Although Nathaniel Shaler wrote *The Neighbor* in 1904, you will like his style and insight. Run down the volume, and see if his "sympathetic" and "categoric" contacts are what we mean in the chapter by primary and secondary relations?

6. Report in class on some one of the following community studies, each published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D.C., as "Rural Life Studies":

Study 1. El Cerrito, New Mexico

Study 2. Sublette, Kansas

Study 3. Landaff, New Hampshire

Study 4. Old Order Amish, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Study 5. Irwin, Iowa

Study 6. Harmony, Georgia

7. Discuss the "functions of talk" in the village community. For acute thought on this topic, see Walter Coutu, *Emergent Human Nature*, Chap. X, "Meanings Come from Our Groups" (Knopf, New York, 1949).

8. What kinds of institutions are found in every typical village community? Why these and no others? What do you think of the "business-manager" idea?

9. Some rural teachers say their life is "lonely," while others hold the opposite. Granville Hicks in *Small Town* writes about the life of "an intellectual" in Roxborough, New York. Lead a class discussion on the teacher's nonschool life in village communities.

10. Prepare a 10-minute talk on one of the following topics:

"A Farm Family," Howard Beers, *American Sociological Review*, 2 (1937), 591-600.

"Miss O'Reilly of Slocum," *Fortune*, 35 (February, 1947), 128-131+.

"Rural Regions," Carl C. Taylor *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, 329-494.

11. If local and regional planning for community life is ever to be undertaken in a serious way, where will local leaders be found? Do you expect leadership to come from school personnel? How could schools, in their life and work, educate for cooperative planning?

Selected Readings

Bennett, John W.: "Food and Social Status in a Rural Society," *American Sociological Review*, 8 (October, 1943), 561-569.

Hayes, Wayland J.: *The Small Community Looks Ahead*, Chap. II, "Structure and Functions of Small Communities," Chap. IV, "Community Life and Leadership," Harcourt Brace, New York, 1947.

Hicks, Granville: *Small Town*; Macmillan, New York, 1947.

Kaufman, Harold F.: "Members of a Rural Community as Judges of Prestige Rank," *Sociometry*, 9 (February, 1946), 71-85.

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Morgan, Arthur E.: *The Small Community*, Harper, New York, 1942.

Pope, Liston: *Millhands and Preachers*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1942.

Ryan, B.: "The Neighborhood as a Unit of Action in Rural Programs," *Rural Sociology*, 9 (March, 1944), 27-37.

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- Smith, T. Lynn: "The Role of the Village in American Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, 7 (March, 1942), 10-21.
- Stewart, Frank A.: "A Study of Influence in Southtown," *Sociometry*, 10 (February, 1947), 11-31. Also "A Study of Influence in Southtown: II," in *Sociometry*, 10 (August, 1947), 273-286.
- Taylor, Carl C., et al.: *Rural Life in the United States*, Chap. XVII, "Levels and Standards of Living," Chap. XVIII, "Rural Social Differentials," Knopf, New York, 1949.
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- Zimmerman, C. C.: *The Changing Community*, Harper, New York, 1939.

CHAPTER 5

THE SMALL CITY COMMUNITY

For ten years now, wherever sociologists have gathered, discussions of Warner's "Newburyport study" have gone on. Begun in 1930, this study of an old New England seaport city has appeared in four volumes, with two more to be published. "Flat, tallying, busy work" writes one critic; "Bold, sweeping, original" says another; to which a third adds the cautious view that "time alone will tell."

Some readers will perhaps recall that Newburyport, Massachusetts, made press headlines in April, 1947, when in face of rising prices, its merchants made a 10 per cent price cut. Others will remember it as the home of J. P. Marquand and the scene of several novels. To a student of community, the work to be reviewed is unique in the history of community study. While scarcely a perfect research, its findings are exceedingly provocative.

YANKEE CITY: A CASE STUDY

Yankee City, the name given to Newburyport, is a town of 16,785 or more, varying somewhat in size over the five years of study.¹ For quick orientation, let us assume that the prime task of every community is to live, to live long and well. To do so, it must organize itself for living. This means, in Warner's terms, that it must work out ways of relating man to nature, giving rise to a technological organization. It must relate man

¹ W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (1941), *The Status System of a Modern Community* (1942), *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups* (1945), and *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (1947), Yale University Press, New Haven. Our account is based on these works and on other publications by Warner and associates. With many print pages to digest, selection has been inevitable, although every effort has been made to report author's views and findings.

to other people, a social organization, and to the unknown supernatural world, a religious, symbolical organization. But in every community, there is another organization, "an organization of organizations" which interrelates the whole. What is this integrating framework, the one most determinative of all others? To discover this structure and to describe and analyze its operations, were the aims of the Warner study.

YANKEE CITY'S CASTE-CLASS ORDER

Research Plan. Yankee City, the place selected for study, met a number of specific criteria. It was small in size; its people were chiefly Old American stock; it had several large industries; it showed a well-integrated way of life; it had a history dating back to the 1600's; it was an autonomous political unit (not suburban); and it was accessible to the study staff.

Contact with the community was made via prominent persons. One person was asked "to introduce us to friends of his who were leaders in city activities," after which these persons made staff members acquainted with their friends and so on, from top to bottom in the status hierarchy. Study methods were chiefly intensive interview and systematic observation, supplemented by schedules, questionnaires, life-history materials, census data, and documentary records. Field workers took responsibility for segments of the total study, and findings were integrated in staff conferences.

Yankee City: An Areal Picture. Yankee City (Newburyport) is north and a little east of Boston, on a harbor at the mouth of the Merrimac River. The city proper runs about four miles along the river, reaching inland a half mile. On the north, at the water's edge, are the docks for shipping and the shacks of "clammers," and on the south is High Street, which many citizens regard as the stateliest residential street in the nation, comparable in every way to Boston's Beacon Hill or Salem's Chestnut Street. In few towns, perhaps, has so much survived of what is viewed as "typically" old New England—trim three-story houses (some with "widow's walks"), formal gardens, ancestral relics, austere "meetinghouses" and cemeteries, family genealogies, exclusive clubs, an indomitable Yankee spirit of "git up and git," and an intense local consciousness and pride.

By use of various criteria, such as property value, ethnic distribution, crime rates, etc., Yankee City was divided into 12 ecological areas. Along Hill Street, for part of its four miles of elm-shaded homes, resi-

dents are upper class, the street fanning out at each end into the better-than-average Newtown and Oldtown areas. Areas to the right of the business district are inhabited by low class people, in a technical sense of that concept, with Riverbrook considered as "the worst place

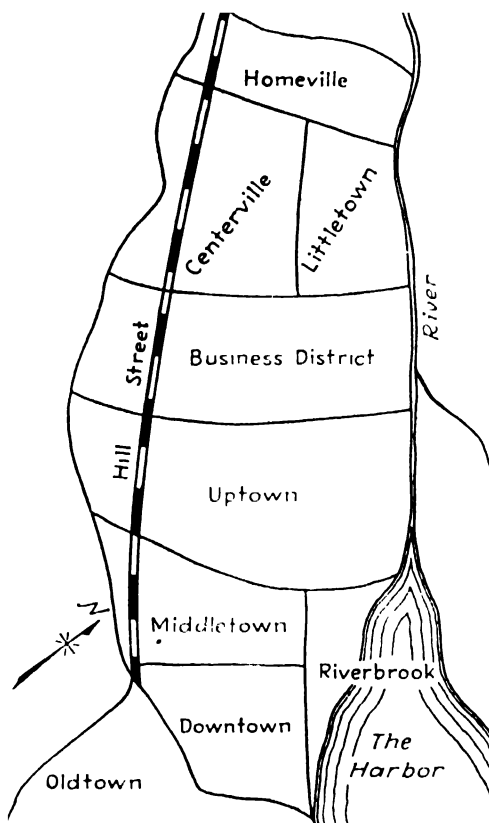


FIG. 7. Ecological areas of Yankee City. (Adapted from W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, p 228, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941.)

to live." To the left of the business district, socioeconomic status is higher, with Homeville typically middle class, *i.e.*, "good, solid citizens."

How Social Classes Were Found. At the start of the study, it was believed that the basic structure of the community, "the most vital and far-reaching values," were economic in nature. Indeed, first interviews supported this view. "Big people" were, apparently, "people

with money," while little people were poor. Big people were the bankers, the large property owners, high-salaried business and professional persons, whereas little people were laborers, low wage earners. Further interviews brought out inconsistencies in this general classification. Bankers, for instance, might be equally well-to-do but were rated differently in social status. Or better still, the person named as "the wealthiest man in town" did not have a high social position; it was said that "he and his family did not act right." Thus, "something more than wealth was involved in prestige ratings, so that a "class hypothesis" was developed.

By class was meant "two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions." While class members will tend to marry within their own class, they can marry either up or down, and children start life at parental class levels. Caste, by contrast, is a closed group and based, in our country, on color. One is born into it, must live and marry there, and exceptions do not disprove the general rule. Caste and class in combination, chiefly the latter, as "tested by a vast collection of data and rigorous analysis," were found to dominate the social life of the Yankee City community.

Stratifying Community Members. With the above hypothesis in mind, the research staff undertook to stratify, or to put into class-level orders, the total population of the community. While the procedure has been much debated since the publication of the study, it is still not wholly clear as to the criteria used, their number, nature, and weighting.

It is probable that three types of data were used in stratifying community members. Through repeated interviews, it became clear that persons under study "needed to go with the right kind of people" for the informants (persons who knew them) to be certain of their ranking. This suggests two kinds of criteria: an individual's associations, the people he runs with as an intimate and an equal, and second his reputation, that is, the nature and extent of informants' knowledge about him. In addition to these factors, the staff gathered a great deal of background data: occupation, wealth, education, family, clubs, speech, manners, behaviors, and the like. By some system of combining all this evidence, all but .84 per cent of Yankee City's people was assigned to positions in the class system.

The Six Social Classes. In final analysis, the class structure of Yankee City took the form of a broad-based, sharp-pointed irregular pyramid, as indicated in Fig. 8, and included six classes. The diagram is read as follows: 1.44 per cent of the city's total population of 16,785

was rated as UU (upper upper) class members, 1.56 per cent as LU (lower upper), and so on. It will be observed that 3 per cent of the people fell into a generalized upper class, 39.34 per cent a middle class, and 57.82 a lower class. Less than 1 per cent of the population (141 persons) could not be placed because of insufficient data.

Ethnics in the Class System. For study purposes, Yankee City people were divided into two groupings: native-born of native parentage, and second, all others. The first grouping is called "Yankee," the

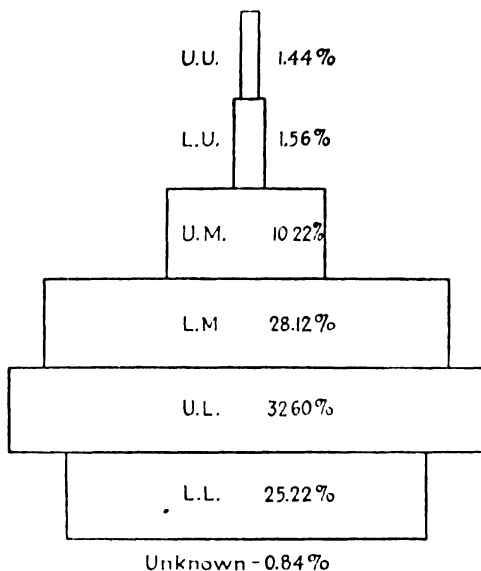


FIG. 8. Class structure of Yankee City. (Adapted from W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, p. 88, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941. Used by permission.)

second "ethnics." Ethnics include persons of foreign birth and mixed parentage, chiefly Irish, French Canadians, Jewish, Italian, etc., and also, by specific definition, Negro and any other nonwhite person. With these distinctions in mind, it is interesting to see the ratios of "ethnics" to Yankees in the class system.

Table 4 is difficult to read. Of the UU class, all are Yankees and this percentage (100.00) constitutes 2.69 per cent of all Yankees in the community. Of the LU class, 95.42 per cent are Yankees and 4.58 per cent ethnics, and these ethnics form 0.16 per cent of all ethnics in the city. An even 53.56 per cent of the city's population is native

TABLE 4. YANKEES AND ETHNICS IN THE CLASS SYSTEM *

	UU	LU	UM	LM	UL	LL	Total
Yankee	100.00 2.69	95.12 2.78	83.44 15.93	67.10 35.26	38.00 23.15	42.80 20.19	53.56
Ethnics		4.58 0.16	15.69 3.55	32.78 20.39	61.49 41.33	56.57 31.57	45.58
Total	1.15	1.57	10.30	28.36	32.88	25.44	100.00

* Part of a table in Warner and Lunt, *Social Life of a Modern Community*, p. 225

Yankee and 45.58 per cent ethnic minorities. Totals running across the table show the percentage of all people at each class level.

While Yankees are found at all class levels, they predominate in upper to middle levels, whereas ethnics are heavily concentrated in lower class divisions. The entire UU class, for example, is made up of native Yankees, while ethnics comprise almost three-fifths of the total UL and LL classes. Put broadly, the higher the class the more exclusive it is, hence the more homogeneous. Conversely, the lower the class, the less resistance it offers to entry and the more heterogeneous its composition. Judging by number in the class, the LU class is most difficult to enter, with the UM the next in difficulty.

In respect to specific ethnic groups, there is reason to believe that, on the average, the longer the minority has lived in the city the higher its general class status. The Irish, for instance, are long-term residents, once the major element in the lower lower class. While they are concentrated at present at the UL level, they are definitely mobile. They are found in significant numbers in middle class categories, and a few have made the LU-scale rating. Thus, while upward mobility, the struggle to advance one's social status, is inherent in the class system, it is also evident that movement meets with resistance.

It should be added, as an exception to the general situation, that no major movement has been possible to the city's 80 Negroes. Negro people have lived in Yankee City since the days of the slave trade and, during the Civil War, were sent to fight as "bought substitutes" by prominent white families. The caste barrier, or color line, "rigid and unrelenting," has in effect "cut them off from the general life of the community."

Class Behaviors and Backgrounds. If classes are realities, they must obviously indicate different ways of living, different patterns of

attitudes, values, and behaviors. What, in this sense, does upper class mean, or middle and lower class? Some revealing incidents will throw light on the question, indicative of many behavioral situations which cannot be included. Each incident needs analysis in terms of class levels.

Mrs. Breckenridge (UU) sits in a wing-back chair near a fireplace in her square, white Hill Street home, contemplating the fifty guests she has just had to tea. A tall, thick hedge hides the 100-year-old house, with a drive cutting through to form a circle which is too sharp for automobiles. For years, she and her family and her friends drove about town in horse-drawn carriages, accepting only of late "the convenience" of small, often antedated, automobiles. Inside the house, the furniture is colonial and mid-Victorian. A few family portraits hang on the walls, two done by famous artists. There is a complete absence of much that a prospering middle class family would call "modern," for example, television, sun porch, rumpus room, and kitchen gadgetry

"I am glad you stayed on," Mrs. B said to the few friends (UU) who lingered about the fireplace, adding a comment about that "awful Mrs. Starr." She assured the group that Mrs. Starr (LU) could not give another tea this year. While Mrs. S gave "perfect, elaborate" teas, they were always "a little too-too." Someone said that Mrs. S, in talking with John Alton (UU) about Yankee City's sailing-ship days, did not know that Mr. A "belongs to one of the oldest families" and that his great-great-grandfather "built and sailed more ships out of this harbor" than anyone else. "Of course," said Mrs. W (UU), "the Starrs are new shoe people. No one ever heard of him until he made a fortune manufacturing shoes."

It was agreed that Mrs. S was "a social climber," a very aggressive pusher who was trying to get into everything. When the club was started, continued Mrs. B, no invitation was sent to Mrs. S. She phoned Mrs. B, "just as if she were a bosom friend," and asked if she could join. When she sent in her name, no one wanted her except Miss C (UU), to whom "she had been very nice," and since Miss C was well liked, her protégé was taken in.

For a half-hour, talk centered on Mrs. S and her efforts to move into the intimate clique of "first-family" associations. "I've always made fun of birth and old families," said Mrs. W, "but they do mean something. Mrs. S has learned a lot from being on the *qui vive*, but

breeding is something that doesn't come out of a book or by imitating your betters."

As the party broke up, the hostess said her daughter Elizabeth would drive one of the men to the station to catch a train. On the way, she discussed a personal problem. "There is just no one in this damn town," she said, "for a person like me to marry. All the young men have left, going to Boston and New York to work in brokerage houses, law offices, banks, et cetera. We may not have much money," she concluded, "but we do have something you can only get by being born into a long line of distinguished families. That may be snobbish, but one's ancestors do count." It wasn't that young men left in town were not "nice" but that they were "just a little common." High Streeters would never approve her "going around" with any of them.

Asked about the Starrs, she recchoed the past discussion. Like a few other well-off, "new families," they lived in a Hill Street home on which they had spent several thousand dollars. "She's made a museum out of it," was the street's "old-family" verdict. Gardens were "too well-cared for"; furniture was "authentic Adams or Queen Anne pieces"; teas and parties were "too perfect, done for effect." Wealth, while nice, didn't excuse people "who didn't know how to act."

On the way home from the Breckenridge tea, the Frenches (UM) passed Suzie Rodgers (UM). "The Rodgers don't act like the snooty Starrs," said Mrs. F, "and Suzie didn't have a coming-out party like some of them but there's no better family in Homeville." "Her father," said Mr. F, "has done more for this town than anybody," and named the offices Mr. R had held, including president of the Community Center and the Chamber of Commerce. "You won't see him at the January club," not even at the country club, and his wife wasn't in the Garden Club; "yet when it comes to public spirit, you can't beat either of them." Further talk brought out the fact that the son in the family had not been sent to a prep school or to Harvard or Yale, favorite Ivy League colleges.

Charles Watson (LM), in charge of a cemetery, squatted down while he supervised the pick-and-shovel work of two men in overalls. "I can't understand that Phil Starr," said a shoveler. "Why can't he let his old man and old lady rest in peace? Why, they've been here for thirty years; now he's diggin' 'em up and runnin' 'em off to the Elm

Hill." Watson commented that his men "weren't seeing this thing right." Mr. Starr was only showing his love for his parents. "He's putting them in a grave up there on the highest hill, next to the Breckenridges and all those old families." The shovelers were unconvinced. "Oh, yeah," said one, "he ain't doin' it for 'em. He's worried about this place not bein' good enough for him."

"Yeah," his partner said, "it makes those kids of his'n remember that their old man is just one jump from the clam flats. Why, hell, old Grandpa Starr and my old man grew up together, and the old ladies were in and out of each other's houses every day." It was agreed that the shoe factory had made Mr. Starr a fortune, that since then he had got on the boards of a lot of banks, and that "he was the hardest man to deal with in the world." Again, Mr. Watson thought the men were wrong. "I see Mr. Starr at the Atlers and he always speaks. Last time he said 'Charlie, how are you?' and I said 'I'm fine,' and says he 'how's your missus?' and I said, 'she's ok, too.'" Told that they had Mr. Starr all wrong, one shoveler made a lewd remark.

The Patriotic Order of United States Veterans of All Wars (UU to LL) was in session. Officers were to be elected, and the hall was jammed—clammers, factory workers, clerks, salesmen, doctors, even a few old-line family heads who otherwise never came. Seeing Mr. Edward Marshall (UU), the president walked over to talk to him and brought him to sit on the platform. He offered him a cigarette, took one himself, and lit them from the latter's match. Meantime, a Mr. Upton, young president of the Booster Club, arrived with a group of prominent businessmen who waved to the men they knew. At one side of the hall, Sam Jones (LL), Tom Green, and other cronies sat together, telling stories and engaging in horseplay.

After routine business, the nominating speeches began. When several had been made, Mr. Marshall (UU) arose to speak. "I too seldom meet with you comrades of former days and present members of this splendid organization. . . . I came tonight because I believed it to be my duty to cast my vote for my good friend, Paul Foley (LU). Paul is a man we all know—a good citizen, good husband, splendid businessman and a loyal member of the Order. He's a living example of what the Order stands for. He proves that race and creed (Catholic) has nothing to do with a man's attaining the highest office."

Following other speeches, the votes were taken, and over half of them were for Foley. On the drive home, Donaghue (UL) and Kelley (UL)

agreed that "those guys up there on Hill Street certainly stick together." Foley and other upper class men had gone in another direction, to a cocktail party at the Blaisdail (UU) home. The group drank to the new commander and kidded him about his election. "Don't drink to me," said Foley. "Sinclair (UL) is the man to be congratulated. We all know that he put this thing over. Tell them how you did it, Brooks." Sinclair's modest reply was that he did "call up a few people. I wanted to straighten things out and make sure the Order didn't get into a mess. . . ."

In another home, Burke, Milkton, and other lower middle to upper lower class members discussed the election. "You know," said Burke, "what happened tonight is what I like about this town. Everybody from top to bottom comes out to vote at a meeting of the Order. Old Ed Marshall was just as interested as any of us. There may be differences between our people, but this town is run democratically."

In still a third part of town, Sam Jones (LL) and his Riverbrook cronies were mixing beer with alcohol. Topmost in their mind was the fact that they were shoe cutters and had been laid off. "Look," said one, "I watch those b. drive around in their big cars. Do they care if they kill one of our kids? Like hell they do! It's those guys who caused this trouble (factory shutdown). They got most of the money but they ain't satisfied. They want all of it. Us guys down here oughta do something." Someone asked if he had joined the union. He said he had but wasn't going to admit it because he didn't know how they felt about unions.

The group was joined by Johnny, a Greek who worked in the plant, a foreigner the gang seemed to like. Presently he called out to a man who was better dressed than they were and invited him to have a drink. It turned out that he was a union organizer, but he had on a veteran's pin and said he belonged to the Order and was proud of it. "Got ourselves a new president tonight," Sam remarked, and the gang rehashed the election. "I wasn't gonna vote for him," a man volunteered, "when I saw those snooty b. lining up for him. But Ez Rodgers said he was ok an' I changed my mind." "Damn rich people," somebody said, another adding "Hill Streeters." "Rich nothing," Sam Jones snorted. "Why, Rodgers lives right here in Little-town." In reply to a question if he worked, the answer was no, he "sold insurance." At this Rodgers was called a bootlicker, shining

up to the Hill Street crowd, and the union organizer observed that was "exactly how it is. Just like in the army."

On reaching his home in the clam flats, Sam Jones (LL) crawled in bed beside his wife. Three small children slept on a mattress in a corner of the room, and two older daughters slept on cots in the kitchen. By morning it had turned bitterly cold, and the seven persons huddled around the sheet-iron stove, dressing. On the kitchen table were remains of the evening meal—bread, potatoes and clams.

Sam surveyed the "dump," wishing that things were better. Clamming was no good, what with the chlorinating plant polluting the water. Tomorrow he would see about doing a little road work for the city. He'd see about "getting off relief," for "them b. . . . are too damn nosey." He wished times were like they used to be. A man was his own boss. He could clam a little, fish a little, earn a little extra money in the shoe factory, then knock off when he got tired and hunt ducks. "Now, damn it, you had to join a union just to keep a measly job." Someone knocked at the door, and he didn't answer. It might be the relief worker, the truant officer, someone from the Order, or "just anyone who would try to tell him what to do."

"Well," said the social agency head to a new case worker, "how do you like our Riverbrookers? I hear you've been calling on Mrs. Sam Jones." The girl's reply was a question: "Why do people live like that?" In no uncertain terms, she was told that "that's the way they like it. Keep them all clean for six months and it would kill them. Even the kids don't want to learn anything, but what can you expect when parents are dumb and not interested." Questioned on delinquency rates, the agency head laughed. "Why, that little trollop, Bessie Jones, rates about one a day, and one day she was caught with four boys." To this a truant officer who had been listening added "that's not all. They'll steal anything. I've just broken up my third gang out there this year." Not satisfied, the case worker asked about schooling. "Yes," the truant officer said, "some of those kids are bright, but they don't last long in school. They drop out after a few years."

Cliques and Associations. So far the focus has been largely on differences in Yankee City people, their class levels, behaviors, and backgrounds. It might seem that there was no unity to the community, no linking up of persons into inclusive and interacting wholes, although the above section shows that this is not true. Interclass rela-

tions occur in many ways, chiefly through cliques, associations, and institutions. These structures bind class members together, hence organize the community for work and play, life and living.

From the start of field work, the staff had heard such terms as "our crowd," "our bunch," "our set," "our circle," and "the gang we run with." It soon became apparent that these were important social groupings. "That crowd is snooty as the devil"; "she's not so hot, she runs with the X-bunch"; and "well, I see he's going about with the Y-gang." To all these many informal groupings, the name *clique* was given, and study was made of their function in placing people and interrelating them in the total structure of the community.

Hundreds of cliques were found in Yankee City. By an intricate system of charting, a large number of "mobile persons" were found to belong to several cliques. Detailed study of these overlapping memberships showed that they formed a network of interrelations "which integrated almost the entire population" of the community into a vast system of interlocking cliques.

At the level of formal relations, both associations and institutions were found to perform important integrative functions. *Associations*, for example, a labor union, a men's Bible class at a church, the P.T.A. at school, have officers, explicit purposes, rules, dues, etc. In all these ways, they are like *institutions*, the chief difference being that the latter are designed to meet more general and imperative needs, such as needs for maintenance, schooling, and worship. The association might or might not be "an adjunct" of an institution, serving to adapt that structure to some emergent common need. Aside from a community-binding function, the work of associations seemed to be that of relating the community to the society at large, of diffusing broad trends and influences and fitting them into local structures.

The American Legion will illustrate most of these points. It is, more than some others, "a total community type" of association. Organized around the crisis of war, many of its activities recreate in a ritualistic way the attitudes and behaviors of war days—the preparedness, combat, patriotism, care of veterans, etc. Members are drawn from all social classes, with class levels varying in attendance, functions, and power. Since the dead are regarded as a part of the living group, the whole community participates in honoring them. Scores of organizations join in common services, with their worth and functions signalized by the roles they play in ceremonial events.

In all, there were 357 associations in Yankee City for which complete membership lists were obtained. Of these, 143 had only males,

110 only females, and 104 were mixed. Most were divided by age levels; yet a number linked older and younger age groups. Unlike the clique which was confined to one or two class levels, the association was seldom limited to one class, often comprised two, and most often three or four. Aside possibly from institutions—and the point was not clear—the association was found to be the major structure linking together all the people of the area, all the lesser social forms and groupings.

Institutional Structures and Services. Every community, as was said, has a set of basic institutions whose functions, if described in detail, would take a volume. In Yankee City, class-typed institutional backgrounds and services were studied with great care.

Data on family living fill several pages. In general, Yankee City homes are small in size, chiefly one- or two-family houses in ordinary repair and assessed at a median value of less than \$3,000. Hill Streeters (UU, LU) live in the best houses, Homevillers (M) in average homes, and Riverbrookers (L) in the poorest. "Side streeters," especially off Hill Street, vary somewhat as a marginal group. Houses not only condition the life of a family but are important symbols of status, an evidence of "the unequal distribution of valued things among the several classes."

If one is upper class, he will marry late; if lower class, he will marry young, and his family as a rule will be large. Median age of marriage for the UU class is almost 30 years, for the LL group about 23 years. The UU class has the smallest percentage of children, the largest proportion of people over sixty, and by far the greatest preponderance of women, many of child-bearing age. The difficulty facing these women in finding a "suitable" mate means that many will never marry.

In respect to occupation, the topmost class has the highest percentage of employable persons who have never worked, being in this matter most like the bottom class and least like the middle class. While UU workers were found in two types of occupational pursuits, they were mostly at one level—doctors, lawyers, brokers, bankers, and so on. Table 5 also shows that middle class workers were spread fairly well through all occupations and lower class workers were heavily centered in semiskilled pursuits.

In a study of over 1000 representative budgets, it was found that "the average income of each class was larger than that of the class beneath it." Yet there was much overlapping. Highest individual incomes were found in the lower upper class, being "earned wealth"

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS BY CLASS LEVELS *

	UU	LU	UM	LM	UL	LL
Professional and proprietary	83.3	85.7	62.2	13.8	2.8	0.7
Wholesale and retail dealers		7.1	15.4	10.9	5.9	2.7
Clerks and kindred workers	16.8	7.1	15.1	28.8	9.2	3.7
Skilled workers			5.2	17.3	12.7	4.6
Semiskilled workers			2.1	27.1	61.5	79.2
Unskilled workers				2.1	7.9	9.1

*Adapted from Warner and Lunt, *Social Life of a Modern Community*, p. 26.

rather than income from family estates and inheritances. Most money was spent by all classes on food, house, rent, automobiles, and clothing, in the order named, but differentials within classes were large. The lower the status level, for example, the greater the proportionate amount of family income going for food, clothing, and shelter; the higher the status level, the more in proportion was spent on travel, education, doctors, charities, and taxes. Many middle-class expenditures, such as bigger or newer automobiles, emphasized the upward mobility of these persons.

Yankee City schools consist of the high school, three elementary public, and two parochial schools. While the high school draws students from all segments of society, few upper upper children attend it. Mostly they go to private schools in Boston or to boarding schools, followed by college. The high-school curriculum is traditional, although its commercial curriculum is heavily elected by middle to lower class youngsters.

Thirteen churches of four different faiths minister to the religious needs of the community. Nine are Protestant, two are Catholic, one is Jewish, and the other is Greek Orthodox. Episcopal and Unitarian churches have the largest ratio of upper class persons among their members, Catholic and Methodist churches are primarily lower lower class, and the Community and Christian Science churches are middle class. Over half the total attendance is by women.

Although voters at lower class levels far outnumber those at upper levels, the former hold few important political offices. For the year studied intensively, 136 persons held elected and appointed positions. Six per cent were upper class, 53.6 per cent middle class, and 40.4 lower class, the latter holding mostly appointive offices of little authority. In the "high control type" of office, mayor or council member

and the like, 14.3 per cent of incumbents were upper class, 71.4 middle class, and 14.3 lower class, showing that the middle class is the great officeholding group, although power (in contrast to authority) may flow largely from the upper class.

Ethnic group members form a larger percentage of those arrested in Yankee City than do Yankees, 60 to 40 per cent, whereas the ethnics make up only 46 per cent of the population. About 65 per cent of all persons arrested are lower class, and, at the opposite extreme, only 0.43 are upper upper class. Likewise, middle class arrest rates were low, showing the great stress placed on being "respectable."

Strike as an Indication of Community Changes. In the worst year of economic depression, exactly 300 years after the founding of Yankee City, all workers in the principal industry struck against management. With little warning, they walked out of the seven shoe factories, completely closing them for a month, in spite of the fact that even union leaders felt that the workers could not be held together. Crisis has always been a test of community survival, of ability to assimilate innovations and readjust the general pattern of living, so that an explanation of this hard-fought battle will show the changes seeping into the community. Moreover, it will suggest a dynamic point of view, in contrast to static analysis, and one in harmony with the actual situation.

Why did the workers strike? To answer is, in a sense, to recount the whole of community history, the trend of technological and human relations in the shoe industry.

In the beginning, each family made its own shoes. Later, a skilled artisan, a cobbler, made and sold shoes, and, presently, he employed others, and a factory developed. With time, the factory owner came to supply all tools, skills, and materials—for shoes were machine-made—and to market the output. Owning the factory, he passed it on at death to heirs, assigning its capital value by shares, and these heirs controlled the course of business as directors but did not necessarily work at the plant. All income was divided three ways: labor, management, and capital, with labor's share diminishing as further mechanization took place. The last stage was reached when local factories became part of a vast and complex industrial system, owned and managed by outside interests, with stocks and bonds bought and sold at market value.

Early in this process, a strike was impossible. Personal quarrels might arise, but they were settled on a man-to-man basis. Labor, management, and capital were one, not distinct and opposing forces.

Even after the owner-manager arose, he knew his help and his help knew him. Relations were close, as Yankee City records show, and reveal much compatibility and understanding. As the capitalistic system further developed, workers found in the union a way of asserting their interest against management. Both union and management grew locally in complexity and, at the same time, affiliated with like bodies throughout the nation. The stage was set for the strike; in fact, with relations so impersonalized, there seemed no other way "to talk things over."

What the strike represents is now apparent. It indicates the changing character of human relations from a primary to a secondary basis. It reveals, more than pages of concrete data could do, the way Yankee City's network of "personal relations, loyalties and obligations" is being shattered by the forces of "big-city capitalism" and impersonal urban living. Worker solidarity is being strengthened, and so is management. Assuming the continuation of these trends, the only realistic outlook is for increasing conflict.

The studies summarized have never proved easy for students to understand and integrate, and yet, withal, they show an approach to community life which has profound implications for the school. Not the least of their effects has been to raise a storm of controversy, a denial that people can be dealt like a pack of cards and neatly pigeonholed, that class lines are so visible and determinative of human relations and social structure.²

Since their appearance, the Yankee City studies have stimulated over a score of similar researches, each smaller than the Warner work yet comparable in its theory and field-work techniques. In addition to New England, communities have been studied in the deep South, the Middle West, and the Southwest. It is this ever-growing body of literature that we shall use in examining the "caste-class" hypothesis as it applies to American community life.

THE CASTE-CLASS HYPOTHESIS

We have called "caste-class" an hypothesis because it seems evident that more data, and more discriminating data, are needed

² For a fictional account of the same community studied by Warner, in fact for continuous comment on "an anthropologist and his study staff," see J. P. Marquand's *Point of No Return*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1949.

to establish the exact nature of this complex idea. That there is such a system, a stratified social order inclusive of many people, that it is widespread and determinative of a great deal of human struggle, we are inclined to accept without question. Everyday experience, as well as scientific findings, argues for its validity and importance. What is still in doubt is the precise nature of its part-whole relations, its dynamics and motivations, and it is these moot points on which we wish to focus.

Little was done with caste in the Yankee City study, the reason being the few nonwhite persons in the city. Assuming

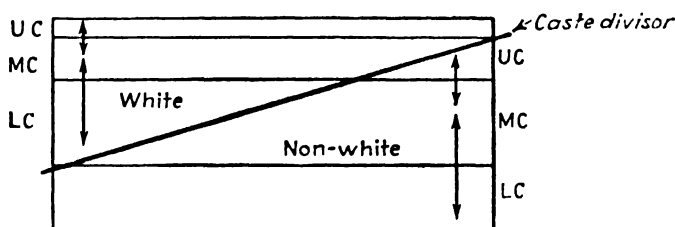


Fig. 9. American caste-class system, a schematic outline. (From W. Lloyd Warner, *American Journal of Sociology*, 42 (1936), 231. Used by permission)

that society is, in essence, an ordering of human relations, a patterning of reciprocal rights and duties, its largest divisions within the context under study is into caste and class. Their interrelations, as Warner has seen them, are suggested in a schematic diagram.

Figure 9 should not be read as indicative of proportionate numbers. It shows that caste in our nation is based on color, or rather on the social meanings and valuations attached to racial traits. All whites are in the upper caste, the alleged superior and definitely advantaged grouping, and all nonwhites (Negroes in Yankee City case) are in the lower caste, the inferior and disadvantaged grouping. A caste divisor separates the two, with upper, middle, and lower class divisions on either side of the color line. Negro upper class status is equated very roughly with white middle class status, with the general meaning that on certain prestige-making factors such as occupations the two groupings are thought to be at about the same level. Arrows

indicate upward and downward mobility within the respective class levels but do not cross the intercaste line.

Inside the caste-class framework, a number of social mechanisms operate to keep people in orderly relations. Color, as an observable, physical fact, is used to assign individuals to one caste or the other, a pattern of associations into which one is born, within which he will marry and live the more intimate aspect of his life. Within the "race" groupings, the family into which a person is born determines his initial class status. Cliques interrelate members of one to two subclass levels. Associations and institutions may link two, three, or more status levels; in fact they often bind together the entire community. The system is not static but dynamic, changing, a point less stressed by Warner than perhaps should have been the case. It is changing so much that in some parts of the nation, notably in large urban populations, some writers say that the Negro does not occupy a caste position. His rights and privileges in the social order are more nearly like those on which all class ratings are based.

THE IDEA OF STRATIFICATION

We like to think of America as a classless society, a place where people are free and equal, where everyone has the same opportunities and moral obligations to get ahead. Sensing the unreality of this viewpoint, a shift is made to the concept of a middle class nation, a vast body of "common folk" who have outgrown European heritages of a feudal system, a landed aristocracy. But even this viewpoint, while nearer the general truth, is still uncritical. Where enough people have lived long enough together, especially in old communities along the Eastern seaboard and in the deep South, a "peck order" has come into existence, a stratified social system of two, three, or more hierarchical levels, or social classes.

The idea of stratification is not hard to grasp. Any concrete social system, such as a football team, a bombing crew, a factory work group, reveals a ranking of persons, chiefly on the basis of ability. For some sports, there are definite measures of achievement (batting averages, errors, etc.), setting objective standards.

Positions are assigned, functions are determined, statuses (or ratings) are made, and all are intermeshed into an organic whole. Thus the problem of discovering how persons are ranked in specific groups is fairly simple, whereas that of finding how people are rated in society at large is exceedingly difficult.

Yankee City procedure shows some of these difficulties. When an anthropologist studies a primitive tribe, what does he do? While specifics vary, basic methods are much the same. Chiefly, he watches people, talks with them if possible, and takes part in their activities. He collects descriptive and historical data, organizing facts in terms of the categories he brings to the job. So with the staff in Yankee City. Interview was, we suspect, their principal method, extended through observation and supplemented by club rosters, agency reports, and other documentary materials. By connecting friend with friend, equal with equal in intimate groupings, people were "placed" on a status scale. What use was made of background data, other than to define class-typed ways of living, was not made explicit. Moreover, staff contacts were from the top down, that is, "prominent persons" to less prominent and on down, so that an upper to middle class bias may well have been introduced.³

How was a sixfold division of classes obtained? It was said that the six classes were "discovered," a rather confusing use of this term. Apparently, classes are a scientific construct, a way of dividing data along a linear continuum. We are not told the weightings given separate kinds of data, how doubtful cases were decided, or even why 6 classes instead of 16 or 60, were set up. Presumably, both history and language have a bearing on the number of classes in Yankee City. Our history shows many

³ Since this chapter was written, a new work on social class has made its appearance, W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America*, Science Research Associates, Chicago, 1949. In this volume, the Yankee City procedures are viewed as "reliable" (p. 35), yet "time consuming and expensive." Two presumably new methods of stratification are described. One, the "Evaluated Participation," seems to us to be in effect a refinement of the Yankee City interviewing procedure by suggesting the use of six different "systems" of interviewing. The other, the "Index of Status Characteristics," is a 29-point socioeconomic scale, arbitrarily weighted, and validated in terms of "E.P." scores.

writings on various kinds of class systems, Marxian and otherwise. Our language readily points toward three-way divisions—upper, middle, lower, and multiples of these three. Classes, obviously, are ways of classifying people, rather than self-conscious, organized groups. Since their number grows out of field data, it can be varied in terms of the data.

Yankee City and related studies have been criticized for use of “class” as a “sponge” word, swallowing up much that should be kept separate—economics, prestige, residence, morals, influence, and the like. We doubt the extent to which this is a valid objection. To stratify a population, one would want the general rating of each person by all others, until if possible all persons have rated all persons. Ratings would not be on specifics but would be made, as they often are in everyday affairs, on over-all impressions of a man’s nature, worth, and position in community life, a point to which we shall return in a later chapter. Admittedly, the value or core of values implicit in these ratings is a matter for study, but it would likely be an over-all reputational judgment.

DYNAMICS IN THE CLASS SYSTEM

Where we have experimented with college classes in studying their own class-typed community backgrounds, discussion has turned time and again to the question of values. When people live, where do they live and how? That is, what motivates their life, the life of the total community? Warner’s answer has been in terms of status strivings, prestige ratings, and the like. This is, presumably, the dynamic of the class system, the drive that overarches all others in activating human struggle aside from processes involved in sheer survival. While data are at present inadequate either to prove or disprove this viewpoint, the problem merits some very careful thinking.

From a practical standpoint, life is struggle, a struggle to meet needs, to satisfy wants. To want is “natural,” an expression of the kind of behaving organism man is. What do people want? Specific wants are legion, but large want-clusters, or fundamental motivations, are few in number. Beyond survival and comfort, even beyond minimal security, what do human beings want?

If these basic want patterns were known, we would have in theory the great goals a society sets for its members, hence the dynamics underlying the class system.

In many ways, our mode of life is a "success system," much as the Lynds in *Middletown* used that term. How much did one have to start with? How far did he get? "And, my dear, she never made it," or "B'gad, he did get in." These are rough-and-ready estimates of success, at least as middle class people see it, and this class is society's basic goal-setting, pace-making class. Assume that fate is kind and techniques adequate and one does succeed. What does he succeed to? From what does he come, and where is he headed? In many classroom discussions, students have been unable to agree on their own dominant motivations. Until research data come in, we are inclined to speculate as follows:

As represented in Fig. 10, people struggle first of all for survival, that is, to live and continue living. Some do not, of course, but at no point in the discussion are we interested in the deviant, the exception. Our concern is with the general norm, the main-line pattern of motivation. Beyond survival, people want creature comforts, again omitting certain variant individuals, after which great numbers of persons want security. Security may mean, for some, the end of struggle, the conservation of energy, the maintenance of an established way of life. Or, if earlier motivations remain unchanged, people will enter fully into the "success thinking" of their time and place. Main-line goals remain the same as they were in the journey from survival to comfort, except that the person in his aspirations to get on, to reach the top, has left a little world for a big one. He is now in competition with the best talent, the most ambitious individuals, a society has produced.

As our average man, a type of character representing the dominant values in our culture, moves ahead into bigger and bigger ventures, he may perceive that our society has two tops instead of one, each conferring high status. One cluster of end-points we have called Y-values, for example, creative effort, service to others, the never-ending search for meaning. These are the rewards offered by the fine arts, by humanitarianism, science,

philosophy, and religion. While eminence here brings great reputational rating, for example, assuring the few of a secure place in all history, it does not bring the immediate, wide acclaim of society at large. It does not, therefore, have anywise the mo-

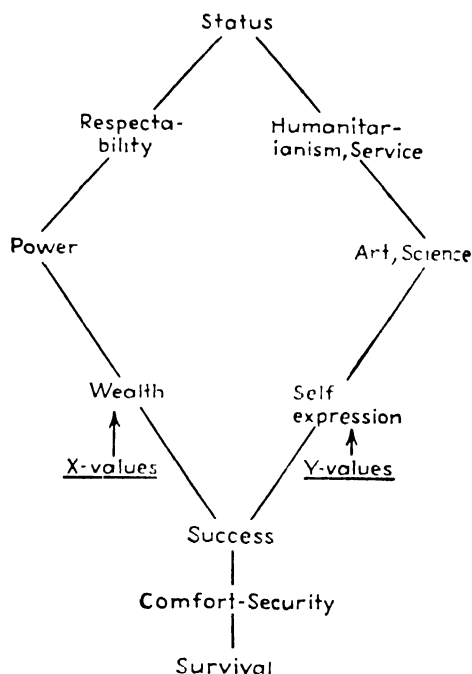


Fig. 10. Kinds of motivations in our society and their possible interrelations.

tivational force in a social order as does the other top in the diagram.

X values are unlike Y values in several ways, for instance, they are a composite, an interactive whole in which each influences the other. As one succeeds to wealth, he has greater power, which means more wealth, more power, and so on. As long as competition is in sight, he will struggle to best it; otherwise he may pit himself against himself, so to speak, seeking to beat his own achievements, to be alone in his league. Once on top of the wealth-power pinnacle, men of great fortune, great talents, or power have usually sought respectability, in fact have given away wealth and devoted all their energies to the Y-type values,

the great causes and movements for the advancement of art and science, the betterment of mankind. But this should not obscure the hypothesis in need of exact study, namely, the X values are the great motivational goals giving character and dynamics to our present social order.

In all this speculation on dynamics, many exceptions are admitted. Our society is a class society, a top-to-bottom hierarchy with people climbing up and people falling down; yet some people do not play the get-ahead game. They suffer, in consequence, a low status rating, a reputation to which many are quite indifferent. Moreover, there are innumerable way stops along the path of life, places where persons of lesser ambition or talent find a niche where they can be happy and effective. Third, it must be obvious that all American people, save a few "old-family" representatives, and a few criminally ambitious persons, are far less conscious of the rating system in which they live than are the students preoccupied with its study. Their own insecurity feelings push them on, in one case to hold the "distinguished-person" rating conferred by birth and circumstance and in the other case to achieve it by driving force and work effort.

NOTES ON TEACHING SOCIAL CLASS

The caste-class concept throws new light on the intricacies of community living and child development, hence on a number of prime educational problems. Whatever its immediate value may appear to be, it is great enough to warrant a firm grip on the idea, as thorough an understanding as circumstances will permit. The ideal method of teaching the existence of social classes, their intra- and interlevel behaviors, would be to incorporate students in a specific research on a community, to train them in interviewing techniques and data analysis. For one reason or another, this may be impossible, so that an alternate case-study method is suggested. In the procedure described, it is assumed that the instructor is familiar with social class and personality theory. The group should not number over twenty so that each student can practice vocally the new perceptions he is learning.

In the case-study method,⁴ the first step is to call to the atten-

tion of students that they themselves are participants in class ways of living. They come out of a class-structured community life and carry with them marks of their participation. Each one can be, after a fashion, an informant on that stratum in our society of which he has knowledge. Each student is asked, therefore, to report on some individual in his community, someone who has struck his attention and about whom he knows a good deal. The individual should not be neurotic, psychotic, or criminal. A quiet "average" person will do, a very ambitious one, a person who made good or failed to do so, or one inclined to defy local mores. No student should report on himself, or any member of his family, or anyone in his class or at his college.

While students are preparing their initial descriptions, the instructor sets the stage through lectures and assigns readings. Before any student presents his work in class, he has a conference with the teacher to see if the case is suitable, that is, meets the above requirements. Class reports are made from notes on "all I can think of" about the character in question, for, if class theory is useful, anything a reporter may say is analyzable within its general framework.

A full hour or perhaps two should be allowed for factual presentation, during which group members raise questions in an attempt to amplify data. Usually the reporter, who has already put down "everything I can think of," is surprised at how much more he really knows about the case. At the next class session, analysis begins. A picture of class levels in the town from which the case comes is roughed out, and the subject is placed within this structure. In many ways, this picture will be poor; yet it will be good enough to show that there is a class system and that the character under study has a position in it. Further analysis will vary with case details and depend, too, on group insight. In general, a number of facts emerge with clarity—class levels in the community, techniques of individual mobility, resistance of cohesive groups to "movers in," personal adjustments to failure, and the like.

Advantages of this method are several. Students can pin their

⁴ As outlined by John Dollard, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, in a letter to the writers.

ideas and hunches about social classes to specific personalities. Materials do not seem like prepared cases given by the teacher, rigged perhaps to suit a theory. If students have quarrels with the data, their differences are with a fellow student who "was there and saw it." Third, all students have a chance to practice their conceptual learnings in a succession of novel situations.

From pre- and end-test uses of this method, students learn more than they do in a straight lecture system. Its greatest worth, as was implied, is that it *brings theory into discussion at the points where it is needed*. Discussion may be stopped at any point for systematic comment. For example, if a class digs in, if talk gets going, it is likely that anxiety behaviors will mount in students, for their own class positions might well come under discussion. Here is a need for thoughtful teacher guidance—the fact of mobility, its normality, its limitations and costs as well as its solid advantages.

Problems and Projects

1. Try to recall your initial reactions as you read through this chapter on the social class system. Did you tend to say to yourself: "Why, I know people like that," or "This is true of places I know best"; or were your reactions negative? Explain your viewpoints.

2. Supplement what you now know by reading further in the basic Warner and Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, on family profiles, pp. 127–201, how the classes spend their money, 287–300, class-typed reading and other behaviors, 378–421, and social characteristics, 422–450.

3. Make a class report on the "participation" and the "rating" methods of stratifying a population as described in Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America*. Give your opinion as to the worth of these methods.

4. John Marquand has written at least four fiction books that deal with upper class ways of life. Write a paper to be handed in on any one of these volumes: *The Late George Apley*; *H. M. Pulham, Esq.*; *Wickford Point*; *Point of No Return*.

5. A classic in this general field is Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1919). Review this volume and compare its viewpoint and interpretation with those of the Warner school.

6. From all that you can make out, what are the most characteristic values of the upper class mode of life? Middle class? Lower class?

7. Criticize Fig. 10. In your own opinion, what values motivate our general scheme of life? Why do people work so hard? Why do they keep on working even after they have achieved considerable?

8. Have you ever known a person who was extremely mobile in the sense of trying to get ahead? One who was downwardly mobile? Discuss their fundamental motivations, their gains and losses as you see them.

9. Make a case study, as suggested in concluding the chapter, of some individual whom you know very well, and then, in class discussion, try to locate this person in the class system of his community.

10. Does the caste system of white and Negro relations hold in the community where you now live? If so, where precisely are caste lines drawn, that is, what kinds of behaviors, privileges, etc., are denied lower caste members?

11. Can you now, without further reading, place the school in the caste-class system? What does it stand for? How is it related in its life and work to caste and class?

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CHAPTER 6

THE LARGER URBAN COMMUNITY

In India, there is a tradition of the sacred cow. If the cow is lying on the road and a traveler "wants by," he waits. If the cow is at one's door and he "wants out," he leaves by another exit or stays at home. The world's center of *hustle and bustle and move the cow* is, no doubt, the United States. In middle to large cities in particular, traditional thought patterns are suspect. To the extent that the traditional is a synonym for rural, cities are in revolt. They do things in a different way, a way so strange as to create for man a new habitat, a milieu in which he may or may not be able over time to survive and prosper.

Here the city under study is the so-called "middle-," or average-sized city, an urban area of 25,000 to 100,000 population. The census listed 320 of these communities in 1940, with an average population of about 50,000. Were selection of a case not at all dependent on the studies that have been made, no better choice comes to mind than that of Middletown, the name given to Muncie, Indiana. Middletown is the nation's most studied, best-known city of its class, having in 1945 about 52,000 people. It is situated in the Middle States region, an area claiming to be the most typical of the nation in its population and way of life. Moreover, the "life-activities" of its residents, the things that people do, form the central core of the inquiry, a point of obvious value at any level of life-centered learning.

MIDDLETOWN: AN URBAN WAY OF LIFE

In January, 1924, and again in 1935, the Lynds¹ put Middletown under study, and in the war years of 1943 to 1944 one of

¹ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, *Middletown* (1929) and *Middletown in Transition* (1937), Harcourt Brace, New York. Data used by permission.

the present authors made several visits to the city, doing what was possible to bring facts up to date. Thus data in the case extend from about 1890, base line of the first *Middletown* book, through the depression of the early 1930's, the war, and reconversion to normal peacetime pursuits and activities. In recreating a "feel" for the Middletown culture, the forms and norms of small-city life, we shall follow in part the original organization of data and in part the scheme of community study proposed in Chap. 3.

THE CHANGING CULTURE OF A CITY

Community Identification. Approaching Middletown from any direction, one will note the farming country, a typical Midwestern scene of crop lands, country homes, paved highways, crossroads centers, villages, and towns. For miles, the "good earth" stretches out into the flat, loamy plains of the corn belt. Corn and hogs are the area's chief products, just as Muncie, the county seat, makes its principal business the manufacture of glass products and auto parts and the shipping of farm produce.

Muncie, Indiana, is about 60 miles northeast of Indianapolis and within 40 miles of the Ohio line. Fort Wayne, the next city of size, is 75 miles north. Chicago is 175 miles northwest and Cincinnati about 100 miles to the southeast. How far the Middletown community extends is not known from research data but a guess would be about 35 to 40 miles in each direction. Within this radius, villages and towns compete with the city for farmer trade and services, even as the city competes with adjacent larger places.

A drive about the town will show that Muncie is "a place without distinction," in sum "a big little town grown up." The land site is notably flat, the residential section is sprawling, having grown by real-estate developments, and the five business blocks are crowded with stores, shops, and offices. People seem hurried and busy, yet friendly. They will speak with feeling about their city, its businesses, schools, churches, the ups and downs in its economic life, the outlook for the future.

"Muncie—the typical American city" says a Chamber of Commerce slogan, an inscription found on the place mats of the leading hotel. On the walls of this hotel are murals depicting a factory worker, a business executive, the process of glass pouring, a table of bridge, a farm building, and a pig. Middletown is a factory town, having 52

sizable plants, some with payrolls of over 3,000 workers. During war-times, it gave employment to more than 25,000 wage earners.

A Drive About Town. As one drives about the city, he can see its physical setup and infer much of its daily life. At the city's center is

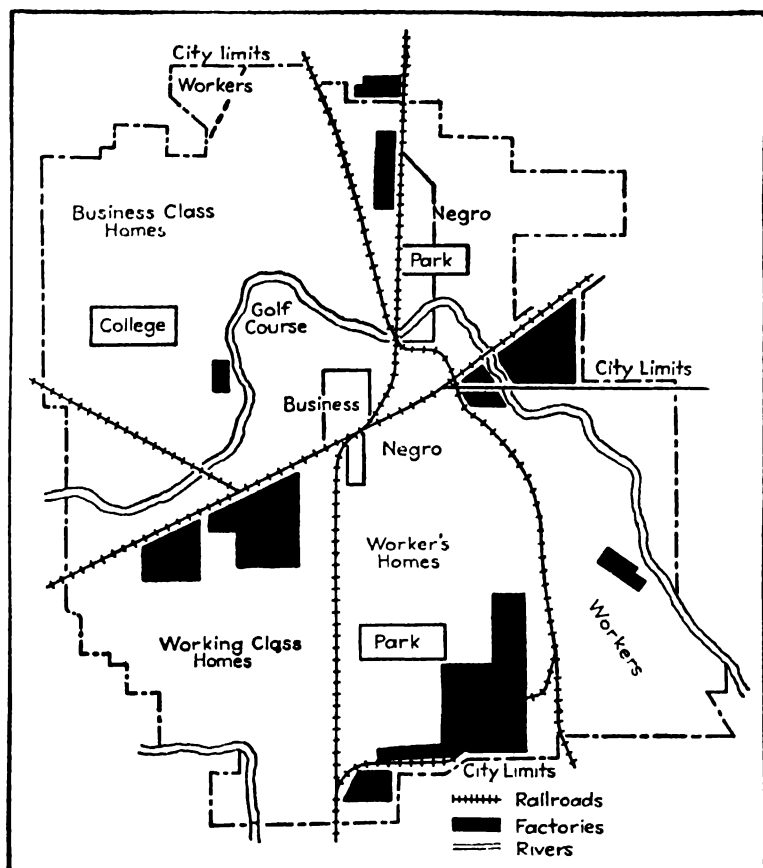


FIG. 11. Sketch map of Middletown. (Adapted from cover pages of *Middletown in Transition*. Used by permission.)

the shopping district. Here, beside cheap lunchrooms, poolhalls, and beer joints, are most of the town's great civic symbols—its tallest buildings, the courthouse, the Masonic Hall, banks, a large department store, movie theaters, and churches. From this section, one moves out along broad tree-lined streets through average residential areas of "efficiency apartments," new, bright bungalows, and older,

somewhat worn single-family dwellings. A little farther out are the best homes of the city, the spacious houses of the well-to-do, including the wealthy Ball family clan. Driving on, a visitor crosses a railroad track and comes to a big factory. Still farther out, there are rows of small, drab houses, plus sketchy makeshift shelters, and beyond them truck patches and greenhouses, taverns and filling stations. Within 10 minutes of his starting time, one is in the open country.

Unlike the large metropolis, Middletown's areal segregation is not conspicuous, and yet, as the Lynds observe, "contrasts are more obvious than in 1925." In the shopping district, businesses are small and scattered, that is, not concentrated in specific sections. Most houses in the city are modest middle to lower class dwellings. Better off families have tended to settle in two subdivisions near the State Teachers College, moving to some extent from the older, aristocratic East End. Lower class whites, "respectable poor" to "trashy people," live mainly on the south side and around the city's rim. Negroes, numbering less than 6 per cent of the total population, are centered in two or three small areas, no one of which is considered a desirable place in which to live.

From a hotel window, one sees beyond the city to its environing service area. Although this area lies outside the state's famous black-dirt belt, its soil is rich and yields are good. Corn and hogs, dairy and poultry products are outstanding. Farms average about 90 acres, and land is worth from \$100 to \$350 per acre. In present times, the countryside is prosperous, with well-stocked barns, much laborsaving machinery, newly painted houses, electric lights, and other conveniences.

Some Bits of History. To war workers who have stayed on, the city has no known history, at least not beyond 1944 when it was made a Class I "critical area" in need of labor. To rabid sports fans—and there are many—town history would seem to revolve about the Bearcats and their successive state basketball championships. Put simply, the story of town origins is this: "Somebody put up two peach baskets on poles, the kids started shootin', and a high school was built around them. Since the team needed support, the town started growing. It has been a job to keep up with the kids."

In 1880 Muncie was a county-seat town of 6,000, a sleepy little place like hundreds of other farming centers. Its people were native stock and of much the same economic status. Life was slow, and it was easy; and one dropped in at will on neighbors. Stores, shops, and offices were few, catering mostly to farmers, though a few small factories had come in. People stuck together, used first names in greetings,

and went as a body to welcome home the town's one renowned citizen. Their credo, it was said, was then as now: "What's good for business is good for the town."

All of this was changed with the gas boom of the 1890's. In 1891, a single well was producing 15 million feet daily, much of which was used in a growing glass-products factory. Almost overnight, the town went wild with excitement. A fund of \$200,000 was raised to bring in new industries, and a population of 50,000 was anticipated. But natural gas was soon outmoded, and the industries that had come in moved away. Workers left, and land values fell. "It was a great blow to us all," said a businessman, "more of a shock than Pearl Harbor." With time, the city settled down to a more normal growth pattern, reaching in 1944 a population of about 52,000.

In retrospect, Muncie's history is that of a localistic village culture: deeply rooted in we-group customs, tied at first to the land and of late to industry, changing at uneven rates of speed since 1890, nostalgic over the past, uncertain but hopeful as to the future.

Making a Living. "One's job," write the authors, "is the watershed down which the rest of his life tends to flow." Strong though this conclusion is, nothing else would seem to do justice to the facts. One type of worker, by far the largest, "works with things," and another type "deals with people." The first is designated "the working class" and the second "the business and professional class." The class into which one is born is the great determiner of who one is. What he does, where he lives, how he spends his time, what he aspires to be, how long he stays in school, the number of children in his family, etc., are more closely related to the way he earns a living than to any other phase of his life.

All persons, save the very young, the old, the incapacitated, and a few wealthy upper-class members, work; in truth, even before the war one lost "face" by not working. At the peak of war production, almost every other person—including women, elderly men, and 'teen-age youth—worked in the city's four hundred-odd kinds of employment, with townsmen and part-time farmers coming in from 20 to 30 miles away. War brought only one new plant of size, the Goodyear, but it increased payrolls by over a third. It opened almost every kind of work to women, reversed the long-run trend in child labor, brought a hitherto unknown prosperity, and led to wartime Federal control over working conditions and job changes.

"Farmers," the county agent noted, "cannot get help with their crops." For average hired hands in 1944, the pay was \$100 a month

and keep as compared with \$40 a few years earlier. Factories would pay these same men from \$45 to \$65 a week. Boys and girls, who never made more than \$8 to \$12 a week when they had work, had their pick of jobs at four to five times as much pay.

In reflecting on a wealth of prewar data, the Lynds conclude that "the most marked changes in the culture have occurred in the economic sphere." One change in particular is significant. "There is increasingly less chance of rising from the bottom of the economic ladder to the position of bossing oneself." Evidence was of several kinds. Industrial skilled workers had increased only two-thirds as fast as common laborers. During the depression, plants and stores were concentrated into larger units. With the war there was a marked trend toward awarding government contracts to the larger, better equipped companies. In agriculture, the trend has been toward larger farms and absentee ownership. In professions, nine-tenths of their increase in number employed consisted of persons hired by others to work for them, for example, teachers, nurses, industrial chemists, and social workers.

In interpreting the above situation, the Lynds speak of two economic ladders. One begins at the bottom, as people commonly say, but it has become "short, hard to climb, and leads nowhere." The other starts a long way from the bottom, that is, with skills and training, and leads up, but "fewer and fewer persons are able to climb it." In either case, economic mobility, aside from a few war years, is notably less than in 1925, and it appears to be diminishing even further.

Home and Family Living. Establishing a home life is strikingly different from in the 1880's. Families are smaller, less stable, and more dependent on other agencies. Houses are more varied in size, design, and costs, and much less likely to be owned by their occupants. Internally, families may be more democratic than formerly, though this might be hard to prove. Woman's role has changed more than her husband's, with a notable increase over the years in freedom of action for her.

In 1925, Middletown's 38,000 inhabitants lived in 9,200 homes. Only 1 per cent of these dwellings were apartments. Working-class homes averaged 5.4 members, business-class families 4.7. Houses were closer together than in the 1880's, having smaller yards, fewer and somewhat larger rooms. Parlors and spare bedrooms are disappearing. All homes, except the cheapest, have running water and electricity, and many have the full range of "modern conveniences." Homeownership is still a mark of personal integrity and good citi-

zenship, and building and loan associations provide an easy way of purchasing property.

In theory, marriage is for life; in reality, it is often much shorter. There were 9 divorces for each 100 marriages in 1889, 18 in 1895, 54 in 1918, 42 in 1924, and divorce has varied since in the ratio of about one to every two or three marriages. Remarriage rates are high, suggesting that one function of divorce is to reassort couples. Grounds for divorce in order of frequency were cruelty, nonsupport, adultery, and abandonment. Control of family size is very general within the business class, with two or three children being considered ideal. With the increase of out-of-home contacts, children develop an early sophistication. Romantic love is still the basis of marriage, more so than formerly. Young people grow up on sentimental movies, jazz music, and radio melodrama. "But, mother, you're so out of the the groove, so old-fashioned," or whatever the current line is. "Times out" (at night) and "time got in" were listed by high-school students as the chief causes of trouble with parents, followed by use of make-up, dress, "necking," grades, spending money, and driving the family car. Marriage rates are much higher than for depression years. Marriages occur at younger age levels and are "a greater gamble," i.e., run greater risk of failure. Business-class mothers in particular do much secret planning to direct the courtship process. Unwanted friendships may be fended off; sons and daughters are seen at the right places and with the right persons.

Child rearing is chiefly the mother's task. "I adjust my entire life to my little girl," said one mother, thinking no doubt of music lessons, dancing lessons, and help with schoolwork. Working-class mothers complain of lack of time to be with their children, and many parents are puzzled as to effective methods of child control. "I am going to bring up my daughter just as strictly as I can," remarked one mother. "Strict obedience doesn't accomplish anything," retorted another. Her idea was "to be a pal and do things" with her children. Fathers score low in time spent with children; some few are striving to invent ways of "being a dad."

Many aspects of home living have been changed by the sweep of industrialism. Winter diet and summer diet differ less than formerly, owing to cold storage and rapid transportation. Alterations in dress and beautification are noticeable. Elders gasp at the sheer silks, fine satins, gay colors, and modish lines of the smartly dressed young woman. Nowhere is transition more apparent than in housework. "Marriage brings a woman a life sentence in her home," wrote Dorothy

Dix, "and her work is the most monotonous in the world." If this were ever true, it is now far less true, for most homes have a score of laborsaving devices and appliances. Many of the home's routine tasks, such as cooking, sewing, and washing, are done outside by commercial agencies.

Health and Physical Well-being. Meeting health needs occupies more time, costs more, and for many is better done than in the 1890's. Friendly, neighborly aid has given way in turn to public charities, to a community fund, to Federal relief programs, to concern for war veterans and their families, and to the present complex system of public and private social agencies. With every fourth family on relief in 1932, the outlook was indeed gloomy. Then came the now almost forgotten manna from heaven—CWA, FERA, WPA, AAA, and other "New Deal" measures. With the wartime boom in business and agriculture, the city's optimism returned, although there is now some fear of another depression. The CIO has organized local industries and is viewed by business leaders as "a radical labor movement." Plant layoffs, while unpredictable and intermittent, may be increasing. Strikes and threats of strikes are not infrequent.

In spite of its rapid and general sophistication, Middletown is not wholly rational in health matters. Home cures, quack doctors, and patent medicines still attract a gullible public. The city's 60 qualified doctors admit their inability to deal with quackery. "People should know better," said one physician. "We ought to take more responsibility," remarked another. As a whole, the local medical profession is opposed to socialized medicine. While the city has only one public health officer, his services have immeasurably increased. Among his more general duties are food inspection, free public clinics, and health examinations for school children.

Under normal conditions, many persons are unable to care for their own primary needs for food, clothing, and shelter. Housing in particular is a chronic social problem. In times of economic depression, the number of dependent families more than doubles, placing heavy burdens on public, semipublic, fraternal, and religious relief and welfare services.

Training the Young. Among the many child-shaping agencies and influences, the school alone gives systematic training in education. Middletown schools are like a good many schools the nation over—a fairly standard curriculum, subject learning, and insistence on discipline. Again, as in other places, exception should be made for elementary and kindergarten levels, where schools are more flexible

and adjustive to pupil needs and area conditions. Four-fifths of all teachers are women, the majority of them unmarried and under 40 years of age. On the average, they are said to have more professional training than the teachers of the 1890's but less nonschool experience in dealing with children. They take little part in community life, and the city pays them little more than the salaries of experienced clerks and factory workers.

The trend of change in things thought important for children to learn is seen by contrasting the seventh-grade curriculum of 1890 and 1924. At the former date, the subjects studied were reading, writing, arithmetic, language, spelling, drawing, "object lessons" (science), geography, composition, and declamation. In 1924, the last two subjects had been dropped; those added were civic training, history, manual art, home economics, and physical education. Thus the trend is toward relating school training to "the more practical problems of life," an emphasis strongly noticeable in the past few years—owing in part to the local teachers college with its modern laboratory school, well-trained staff, and up-to-date program.

Schools also provide experience in what pupils call "school life." Here are athletics and dramatics, clubs, "parties," and casual age-level contacts. Among students, the athlete is the greatest prestige-bearer. The city itself "goes wild" when the Bearcats begin their tournament play for a state basketball championship. Parents believe that youngsters have a better time in school now than in bygone days. In the same breath, they ask: "When do they study?"

Spending Leisure. Owing to the city's location in the flatland of the corn belt, the beauties of nature are almost nil. There are no hills nearer than a hundred miles. White River, once a good-sized river, has become a sluggish stream polluted by industrial wastes. In spite of these conditions, Middletown probably spends more time at play than ever before. This is due in part to shorter working hours, to the felt need for relaxation, and to the prevalent habit of buying one's leisure pursuits at movies, sports, and other entertainments.

Little diminution is reported in the city's delight in talk. No occasion, from an ice-cream sociable to a funeral, seems complete without at least one speech. "There's nothing I like better than a real good speech," said one citizen. It took no less than eight speakers to dedicate one public building. Short talks on technical subjects appear to be replacing the humorous lecture and patriotic oration, and "pep talks" at luncheon meetings are regarded as an expression of civic loyalty and a contribution to community spirit.

The intense need for friendly contacts, in contrast to "business relations," plus the difficult task of bringing everyday life into line with traditional moral virtues still leads to many sentimental behaviors when good fellows get together. A popular stanza on Middletown club programs can be heard at such meetings throughout the nation.

So many gods, so many creeds
So many paths that wind and wind
While just the art of being kind
Is all the sad world needs.

There has been a marked increase in the reading of books and magazines. Over 7,000 books are drawn from the public library each month per 1,000 persons as against 850 in 1890. The library contains 225 periodicals as contrasted to 19 in the latter year. Music lessons are more popular today, as a result perhaps of the interest in "jazz" and the prestige value of being able to play some instrument. "We went to L—s' and serenaded them," relates a diary of the 1890's. Group singing is being replaced by radio programs and orchestras, by night clubs and juke boxes.

Middletown has a veritable maze of social clubs. A survey in 1924 revealed 458 active groups, one for each 80 persons in the city. The largest is the Women's Club, with its various departments. "The whole town is overorganized," said a Rotarian. Special interests have tended to replace "next-door neighborliness" as a basis of association. Sports are popular; yet they are enjoyed mainly from the side lines. The automobile, radio, and motion picture have played the most important roles in reshaping leisure and its uses.

Getting Information. Among the several inventions which have enlarged Middletown's contacts with the world, the newspaper is outstanding. Over 9,000 homes take a morning paper and more than 7,000 an evening paper. The circulation of nonlocal papers, said to be negligible a generation ago, now reaches over 1,500 copies daily.

One purpose of the paper is to give the news. News today is less personal in nature, less local in origin, more timely, and more accurately reported. Papers also make editorial comment on events. No local paper has hesitated to champion "our nation against another nation," to take the business-class point of view, and to support the Republican cause in partisan politics. Third, papers provide entertainment, with comics, features, and the like, read by all age levels. Finally, a function of the press is to sell goods. Almost two-thirds of the morning paper consists of advertisements of things to eat and to wear, to use,

see, and do, thus providing the paper with its major source of revenue.

Religious Beliefs and Practices. One day in seven is set aside for "rest and worship," and the city's 65 churches are opened for devotional services. Some of the churches are imposing structures; others are no better than the poorer dwellings. With the exception of the Jewish group, they all represent branches of Christianity, a major cleft being found between Protestants and Catholics. Congregations range in size from one of over 2,500 to a gathering of a dozen persons or so. Church attendance has increased, but member reaction is still that of "unalert acceptance." Religion is "torn by conflict as to its prime functions, whose values it shall serve," with a marked tendency to take the views of the wealthy control group in the community.

What does one believe if he is a Christian? The question at first brought answers synonymous with being civilized. Basic beliefs are that Christianity is the one true religion, the Bible is sacred and infallible, God is revealed in Christ, and there is life after death in a real heaven or hell. While these beliefs pervade the entire community, they are held most completely by working-class members. Shifts in the religious climate are much in evidence. On finer doctrinal beliefs, there are many shades of individual opinion. There has been a sharp decline of worship in the home. Family prayers, blessing of food, Bible reading, and religious counseling appear to be less prevalent than in the 1890's. Churches are asked with greater frequency to change their hours of meeting—except on Sunday morning—for non-religious affairs, and the traditional week-night prayer meeting has been abandoned altogether. In countless ways, the Sabbath is being defined as a holiday, instead of a holy day as older generations understood the term.

A first requirement for pastors is that they be good speakers. In addition to regular sermons, they are asked to participate in a wide array of civic and social meetings. A second expectation is that they be "good fellows well-met," and a third that they "draw young people." One pastor, aware of the difficulty of persuading a city to adopt a way of life which stands so sharply in contrast to so many of its actual beliefs and practices, feels himself isolated from the real world of men. Pastors have "little time for reading and reflection" and "so little opportunity to mix into the real affairs of men."

Children are encouraged to join church at an early age. Their formal union may be through baptism or conversion. Once churchgoers, they pass from class to class in Sunday school, and every effort is made to teach them "Christian character." They may sing in a children's

choir and take part in special programs. To hold the adolescent, several churches have tended to institutionalize their services. In one church, this includes clubs, athletics, dramatics, scouting, educational movies, and youth counseling.

Politics, Law, and Order. In 1890, elections were taken seriously. They were dramatic events, with parades, orations, and public debates. At present, they arouse little community interest. From half to two-thirds of the electorate vote in an average presidential election, and many fewer on local bond issues and the like. In general, the political process has lost meaning for the average citizen. Unable to understand the issues, unacquainted with candidates, suspicious of graft, he casts a ballot as a kind of formal gesture. "Our politics smell to high heaven," said a businessman. In his opinion, "Better citizens dare not mix in political matters."

Though the common man is presumed to know the law, an attorney holds that "no one knows what ordinances are on the books." Jury service, well-adapted to a leisurely age, is evaded by busy persons. Severity of punishment is seemingly ineffective as a crime deterrent. Suspended sentence and probation for adult offenders and juvenile-court procedures for delinquents are hailed as foretelling a new day in the city's efforts to cope with crime.

Archaic though the political system may be, public business somehow gets itself done. Laws are made, bonds issued, streets paved, public improvements carried on, and public-service departments operated. Proposals for a city-manager plan of government have met opposition from both major parties, giving point to the old adage that "politics makes strange bedfellows."

The Social Class System. The first Middletown study presented a simple two-level class system. At the top was the business class, the people who deal with other people in making a living, and at the bottom the working class, the 7 out of 10 persons who dealt with things. Social data, such as family size, church membership and the like, were interpreted within this frame, but "class consciousness" was said to be almost nonexistent. The city was described time and again as "middle class," with common values determined by the leadership of the business-class.

Ten years later, class lines were more apparent. Judging the authors' intent as best we can, it would seem that the "business world" has drawn further away from the workers and split into three status levels. Likewise the working class has broken into three blurred and overlapping levels with the present class division somewhat as follows:

MUNCIE'S PROBABLE CLASS STRUCTURE

Upper class	Middle class	Lower class
Upper upper Middle upper	Upper middle Lower middle	Middle lower Lower lower

While each of these groupings is discussed in *Middletown in Transition*, the labels we have used are our own. Since the authors continue to make occupation the chief determinant of class position, we shall discuss the above "six classes" largely in economic terms.

First in the city's status hierarchy is the small upper class. In comparison with other class levels, it enjoys top-rank rights, privileges, and prestige ratings. The first of its two strata, the upper upper, consists of a handful of prominent manufacturers, bankers, corporation managers, and lawyers. Most of these, along with their wives and families, are associated with, and some are related to, the powerful Ball family, "the city's ruling dynasty." The second division, the middle uppers, are a slightly larger number of large manufacturers, well-off merchants, plant managers, and professional people. Intimate and informal associations, while not exclusively patterned along class lines, show a tendency for "equals to run with equals." What is called "the horsey set" maintains two exclusive riding clubs, holds horse shows and the like. At a time when airplanes were a novelty, several of its younger members owned and operated their own planes.

In theory, the middle class is "the solid backbone" of the community. Upper middle includes most professional workers, many merchants, farm owners, and representatives of "white-collar" shop and office personnel. Lower middle comprises "the aristocracy of labor," notably skilled craftsmen, shop foremen, high-paid machinists, clerical workers, and small farmers. While not the social equals of the upper prestige groupings, middle class members aspire to this status. The two levels meet and mingle at informal teas and bridge parties, Garden Club and Junior League activities, charity affairs, and civic events.

On the low class level are the bulk of factory workers, the several kinds of "common" or semiskilled labor. Most of these are middle lowers, and below them are what the Lynds call "the ragged bottom margin." Lower lower include in-migrant southern whites—so-called "hillbillies," relief cases, certain unemployables, and a handful of general ne'er-do-wells. Number and make-up of this bottom class division fluctuates more than any other level with good times and bad.

The criminal "underworld" has been excluded, as have racial groupings, for each has its own rating system.

The city itself is inclined to deny the existence of the class system, a "growing fissure" in its social life. Proud of its democratic traditions, its most choice public symbol is "one big happy family." Yet a business-class family may wonder if it can afford a home in Westwood, a mother why her daughter failed to make the Junior Cotillion, a high-school student why he seems to be excluded from certain "cliques." It should be added that class lines are not impassable; in fact upward mobility is a basic feature of the status system.

The Control System. From time to time, the Lynds talk of "the control system," the "business control group," etc., implying that beneath the "rule of custom," beneath politics and officeholding in the usual sense, there is a functional power system. One lead is an informant's comment (1935) that "the old gang is still in control." By this we suppose is meant primarily the "X family" of the first *Middletown*, named in the second study as the rich and powerful Ball family dynasty. There is, of course, nothing sinister, nothing un-American about this tightly knitted group of blood kin and in-laws. Born on a small Ohio farm, the founders of this family line came to Muncie at the start of the gas boom. Penniless or nearly so, these four brothers have made a fortune in manufacturing glass products and in other enterprises. Now with the next generation taking over, clan-group power and benefactions, business enterprises, political and civic control "bid fair to become hereditary and permanent."

It would be impossible here to trace the web of X-family wires, the known and reputed holdings in banks, law firms, industries, and stores. In direct and indirect ways, the influence of this kin group spreads into the public schools, the State Teachers College, churches, city government, the community fund, the press and elsewhere. What the city itself feels about this rule is largely a matter of guess. The "working class" is said, in general, to resent this control and to fear it, whereas the "business class" appears to accept it as a *fait accompli*, to approve it on the whole as wise and generous, and to identify the city's welfare with that of the X family's many and varied interests.

Important as the Ball family is, it is only a segment of the larger business control group. This is the dominant power group, followed at some distance by organized labor. "Capital and labor," one is told, "are partners," but under CIO leadership the little partner has become ever more wary. Time and again, he claims to have found himself on the short end of things. "Muncie was a scab town," a labor leader

recalled, "until the CIO came in." It came in 1937, won a bloody strike in 1938, and now, in 1944, "it gets along with everybody." What is new in local labor ranks today is the threat to mix in politics at every officeholding level, to work under skilled leadership for the election of men favorable to labor interests.

We have stressed the unofficial control system rather than governmental structure on the theory that the first tends to determine the second—in truth in a democracy to shape government to serve its purposes. Between these two power fields there is a third, the informal person-to-person contacts, which may be in last analysis the most basic of all. This is the influence of the softly spoken word, a casual shrug of the shoulders, an arched eyebrow. It is, at one level, the voice of Mrs. Grundy; at another, a decision reached over a bridge table, at a club, or party, which, when announced as public policy, will affect the entire city.

As a Value Complex. To live in any community is to live in a world of in-group values. In Muncie, these well-rubbed coins are much in evidence, passing from person to person without question. Taken *in toto*, these "common" beliefs make up the "Middletown spirit," the value complex that orients the local culture.

Under what banners does the city march? In the name of what symbols does it act? In their second volume, the Lynds list over a hundred of these basic viewpoints. While no classification is attempted, it is evident that these beliefs fall into a few large fields. One core center is the American "success system," the fact of getting "up" or "on," of making good. To ask what is success, what exactly one succeeds to, is to betray one's self as an outsider, an ignoramus, and a critic. Such basic values are seldom consciously talked over; they are taken by assumption, and hence they rest deeply in the subconscious.

If "success" is the great pole around which much of life revolves, it does not exist without counter pressures. Middletown believes in being kind, helpful, and generous. It believes in Christianity, in Protestantism. It believes in community spirit, in boosting the town. It believes in the future, in good times ahead. It believes in capitalism, in work as a moral virtue. It believes in democracy and here, especially, can be seen not only the community's innumerable conflicts in values but the widening gap between symbol and reality. For example, the city's Negroes can also be presumed to believe in democracy—in truth do their part without stint to preserve and extend it—and yet they face an ironic fact. White workers used the concept of

"democracy" to justify their striking in war industries to escape sharing employment with Negroes.

The World Outside. On the walls of the Chamber of Commerce hang two maps. One, a city map, shows much use; the other, a map of the world, is unsmudged, bright, and shining. Our town, our state, our country, the world at large is, perhaps, about the order of civic loyalty, although rank order seems to fluctuate somewhat with events and times. The loyalties indicated are not, of course, inevitably conflicting; in fact they may supplement and reenforce one another.

Muncie's "world outside" begins just beyond the rim of its service area, the country homes depending on its institutions. This world extends outward through the county, state, region, and nation until it embraces at the last the entire universe. With world-wide news in local papers, with more than five thousand young men and women having been on every war front, with nonstop flights from Cherbourg and Chungking passing over the city, earth's ends have come very close. In anticipation of peacetime travel, a local airport advertises that no place on earth is more than 36 airhours away. Thus the community lives in a new closeness, a new interdependence, with the outside, once distant world.

Another point, a correlate of the one just made, is the way the world sweeps into and over the local community. The Lynds do not organize their data to show this effect, but they are mindful of it. For example, the most outstanding change in the city's newspapers is the increase of syndicated columns, such as Pearson, Elmer Davis, and Walter Winchell. Newspaper reading, movie going, radio listening, and the like would give some measure of this change. So would travel, fads and fashions, things bought and things sold. Certain groups exist largely to further an "at-homeness" in the world of ideas, for instance, the teachers college with its staff of fifty-some faculty members, its thousand students, its concerts and public lectures. That such cultural drenchings from the outside may disorganize local unity, as well as enrich and strengthen it, is a matter of concern to Middletown's civic leaders, educators, and other youth workers.

Community Action and Public Good. When, in the 1890's, a "town father" returned from Europe, the entire community was invited to meet him at the train and to attend a reception in his honor. Life has grown too impersonal for such affectionate relations today. Differences of class, race, education, and religion divide the city not only into two worlds but into many. Special interest groups are ever forming, shifting, dissolving, and reforming. When the community acts, it acts

as a loose federation of these power units and pressure groupings.

Among the groups most representative of the community, the Chamber of Commerce is outstanding. Created to advance business, it has sponsored or initiated many movements of a civic nature. Other large inclusive groups are the women's clubs, the luncheon clubs, the council of social agencies, and the federated churches.

When Muncie has endeavored to assess its own well-being, its plans have run to physical improvements, such as paved streets, and to better business conditions, such as reduced taxes. These business-oriented charts for the future, especially in the orgy of postwar planning, stressed the city's dominant power values (success, initiative, efficiency). Other planning groups, notably the churches, have sought to further town growth in terms of a competing set of values, "lovable values" (good will, kindness, equality), but not a great deal has come from their collective efforts. In general, good-will values have been absorbed by the business group and used to serve its purposes.

In reviewing *Middletown in Transition*, John Dewey wrote of "a house divided against itself," a viewpoint taken by the Lynds in their chapter on "facing both ways." Dewey viewed this situation as typical, not only of Middletown but of the nation, a state of confusion, lags, and divided loyalties. It may well be that these studies will find a permanent place in the literature as a half-century record of our changing times, the strains and tensions inherent in our rapid industrialization. Making a living and spending leisure appear to have altered most, while religion has changed least, and education is somewhere between the two extremes.

The Lynds suggested no rank order of urgent "social problems," no concerted plan of attack, no ideals of democratic leadership. Nowhere in these volumes is there an explicit philosophy of good living, an appraisal of culture in moral terms, although business fascism seems to be feared and government aid indicated. This means simply that an author, with known liberal "action research" views,² has held with rigor to a now debatable "scientific" role, the role of a "neutral" in man's practical efforts to better his ways of living. The city was viewed

² Cf. Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1939.

mainly as a living organism, a process of mass striving. People were, one suspects, on the road to somewhere, perhaps to bigger and better cultural conflicts.

THE CITY IN OUR CORPORATE LIFE

Understanding any type of community is a very difficult task; in fact it can be made the lifework of anyone so minded. In no chapter have comments any more than scratched the surface, and in each chapter much that should be said is carried over, as in a serial story, to the next. Here five points form natural centers for class discussion of the middle-sized city in comparison with smaller and larger communities.

It has been said that we are "a nation on wheels," people moving about a vast land, and later on we shall look at this migratory movement. At the moment, interest is in our corporate scheme of life, a framework for thinking about any specific locality. People in movement suggest that no one of the nation's 3,464 identifiable communities large and small is fixed and final; on the contrary, each is variable and changing over time. All seem to live in a great competitive process, each wedged into an interactive framework in which, presumably, the "fit" survive.

Figure 12 shows in a schematic way the position of communities in our general pattern of collective living. The Middletowns of the nation, for instance, exert strong influences over smaller places, although the relationship is always two-way, an unequal give and take. How far this type of community casts its shadow will vary by city and by geographic region, sharpest contrasts being from the thickly settled East to the great distances between competing centers in the Far West and Southwest. Such cities are shaped, in turn, by influences from the state capital, from Washington, and especially from the metropolis dominating the region. At the outer rim of each community, regardless of its size, there are so-called "contested areas," where people are drawn two or more ways in their patronage of service centers, marginal areas to which reference was made in an earlier chapter.

It is instructive to study the give-and-take of any community with its enviroing area, especially with what may be called the

world outside, the society at large. For example, take the market place, the ultimate world-binding framework on which every individual in these times depends. What does the community make, or grow, or process and send out? What, in turn, does it receive, and how, in such complexity, is exchange ever completed? Or take the media of mass communication, the press, radio, and movies. How much content is of local origins, how much nonlocal? What clashes with local mores are implicit in these stimuli, and what "action groups" are concerned

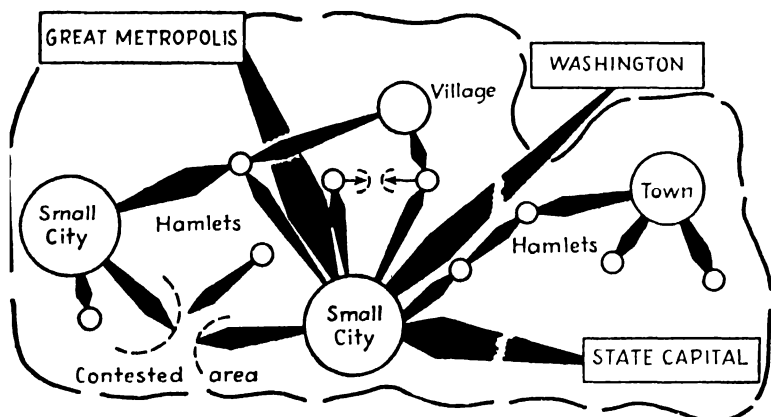


FIG. 12. Position of the small city in our corporate way of life. Arrows suggest flow of major influences.

about the problem? Consider also the types of groups, as suggested in the Middletown case, which exist to bring in outside influences, to link up the community with the world of art, literature, and national affairs.

Muncie's Chamber of Commerce might well have had a third map on the wall, a detailed picture of the Middle States region. In this cluster of eight states, the Great Lakes, or Middle West, the mode of life is notable for its "middle" or "average" character, its sizable amounts of everything—native and foreign people, white and nonwhite, farm and factory, art and science, all kinds of doctrines and religions. It is, perhaps, the least distinctive, most self-sufficient of all great American regions. To understand the backgrounds of any local area, its general life

situation, one must perforce know much about the core values of the region.³

THE LOCAL POWER SYSTEM

Within the community, the eye falls upon much to be examined, much that incites inquiry. One thing to which the Lynds made reference was the use of power, the ability to make decisions, to enforce them if necessary, to get things done. In Middletown, this control—as opposed to officeholding authority—centered in one kin group, a situation not strictly typical of any size community. Control per se in social life is inevitable and desirable, for otherwise no social order is possible, so that sinister influence need not be conjured up. True, democracy faces at all times the problem of power, its nature and uses, and persons such as teachers need to know all that can be known about the local power system wherever they may teach.

A fragment of a village sociogram will throw some light on possible power alignments in types of places amenable to student field study. In this inquiry, 256 adults were asked to name their “best friends” in the community, having been assured that responses would be held in confidence.⁴ Figure 13 shows a central cluster of persons named most often. Each of these had been chosen by a number of persons who had, in turn, been chosen by others, etc. in an ever-widening circle of friends. For example, P, a physician and politician, was the recipient of eight best-friend choices. Half of these came from within the “leader cluster,” showing the close interrelations of its members. The remainder came from persons who were themselves named by 28 other individuals as best friends. Not shown in this diagram is an elderly widow, described as the “lady bountiful” of the village, wealthy, generous, and civic minded. Most persons who named her as a best friend, and each of these was named by other per-

³ See Howard W. Odum and H. E. Moore, *American Regionalism*, Holt, 1938. Also A. R. Mangus, *Rural Cultural Regions in the United States*, Research Monograph 22, WPA, Division of Research, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1940.

⁴ George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, “The Sociography of Some Community Relations,” *American Sociological Review*, 2 (1937), 318-335.

life, to advance and conserve it over an entire area. It is, in sum, a land-based social system, and as such it has the elements of any social grouping. Its members, normally all ages and both sexes, fall readily into three identifiable categories: permanent, provisional, and transitional, or persons in passage.

Provisional membership will suggest a truth which will be made explicit much later in a chapter on the teacher, namely, that every community has acceptance tests for any type of member. Things are permitted a visitor, that is, a *transitional member*, such as buying and selling, moving about, speaking, which are denied a *permanent member* and vice versa; and a provisional member, as the term would indicate, is always on trial, always under test. In general, his test is a kind of "loyalty test," a test of commitment to local values in contrast to the values he brings in from the outside.

All community members have an assigned place in community life, a complex of roles and statuses, rights and duties. These are established over time in the area and cannot be fully transferred to another locality through migration. All community action, for instance, a hearing conducted by the schoolboard, a veterans' celebration, the annual community-chest campaign, is an organization of these member roles, these expected parts and reciprocal relations. In short, a stranger to the area would enter a going universe, offering him official and unofficial protection of person and property, guaranteed rights and privileges, and exacting from him corresponding duties and conformities. The smaller the place, the tighter its integration; hence the more it measures and weighs any newcomer, especially if he touches its most vital spot, its children.

PARTICIPATION AND "COMMUNITY SPIRIT"

Individual participation in community activities is today an unpredictable matter, especially for urban professional persons. For example, taking organizational membership, dues paying, officeholding, etc. as an index, a college class studied some fifty resident professors. Participation, by any measure, was greatest in the city environing the college, as was to be expected; yet it varied widely from teacher to teacher. Various kinds of deviants

were found. For instance, one professor gave most of his non-teaching time to campus committees and groupings, holding no membership in outside community organizations other than nominal identification with a state teachers' association. Another professor gave little time to the campus or the locality but held offices in six state and national organizations and was an active participant in a score of such bodies.

Participation en masse in a specific locality is one evidence of "community spirit," and teachers comment on the way it differs from town to town, city to city. Strong community spirit contributes mightily to a good school, whereas community indifference, unconcern, and hostility make effective schooling quite impossible. It is of value to have a measure of these areal variations, such as the following formula:

$$\frac{AP}{PP \times OP} = \text{index of community spirit}$$

where *AP* equals active participations, *PP* potential participants (or population), and *OP* the number of opportunities to participate.

To illustrate the formula, consider an imaginary college campus community. Assume that it had 50 groupings, or activities, of an all-school nature and that 500 students and faculty members took part in them, making an active participant score of 25,000. Assume also that 1,000 persons were qualified for participation in these same 50 activities, giving a denominator of $1,000 \times 50$, or 50,000. Thus, the index of community spirit for that campus would be 25,000 divided by 50,000, or 0.50. To fit the formula more closely to reality, one could assign weights either to activities or to student hours spent in participation. In the first case, some campus events, or groupings, would be judged as of greater worth than others and weighted accordingly. To weight by time spent in activities, an arbitrary scale could be devised.

A common way of measuring participation in community activities is by use of a standardized scale, for instance, the Chapin Social Participation Scale.⁵ This scale is limited to participation

⁵ Published by University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1938.

of husband and wife in organized social groups, with scores of 1 assigned for membership in each group reported by a person, 2 for attendance, 3 for financial contributions, 4 for committee membership, and 5 for officeholding. A family's score is found by dividing the combined score of husband and wife by 2. Mean participation scores for Minneapolis families on relief were 6; for slum-dwelling nonrelief families, 7; for average middle-class families, 30; for families of "big businessmen," 40.

All such scaling devices tend to neglect or to distort the true "intensity" of participation and also its quality, whether co-operative or hostile, constructive or disruptive of community spirit and unity. Yet scales are very useful. They can be used to gauge the temper of a small or large grouping and the difference between conforming and deviant members. They can be used to establish base-line data against which to estimate the success or failure of a group integrating program.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In Middletown, the average businessman belongs to 3 clubs, the average workingman to 0.9 clubs; the businessman's wife belongs to 3.2 clubs, the worker's wife to 0.7 clubs. Small though these figures may seem, they add up for the area to an impressive total, causing certain civic leaders to say that the city is "clubbed to death." Unless one has thought it over or made an actual field study, he may be surprised to realize the extent to which community life and business, even the general public weal, is conducted, served, and kept vital through the countless voluntary sociocivic clubs, associations, and the like to which the above statistics point. Both under- and over-organization are, therefore, imminent possibilities, although it might be hard to tell exactly how much or how many groupings any place should have for a healthy sociocivic life.

The type of study needed is illustrated by a detailed survey of two suburban communities near New York City.⁶ Each town has a population in excess of six thousand. Community A is a

⁶ Mirra Komarovsky, "A Comparative Study of Voluntary Organizations of Two Suburban Communities," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 27 (1932), 83-93.

better-off residential area, highly homogeneous in race and culture. Community B is a lower middle-class suburb, heterogeneous in all respects. To determine the participation of persons in community activities, membership lists were secured from all voluntary civic clubs and associations, and names were checked and cross-checked. Figure 14 shows the proportion of adults in A and B who are members of one or more clubs. It presents also an analysis of club membership by race and sex.

A striking feature of Fig. 14 is the fact that 60 per cent of A's total adult population and 64 per cent of B's are nonparticipants in organized community life. While B is reputed to be "over-organized," only 36 per cent of its adult population belongs to any voluntary civic association. Thus, whatever B does as a community is done by this third of its potential participants. Likewise two-fifths of A's population carries on its organized sociocivic life. Ten per cent of these persons and 6 per cent of B's club members belong to two associations. Only 2 per cent of A's adults and 1 per cent of B's belong to four or more civic groups.

From these facts, the general conclusion may be drawn that the vast majority of persons in these suburban places take no active part in organized local life. The extent to which this is true in other communities is not known, though some comparable data are available. Komarovsky reports the following indexes of average membership per adult in civic clubs and movements: two rural communities, 0.6 and 0.7; three suburban communities, 0.6, 0.5, and 0.5; two small cities, 1.1 and 1.2. Middletown's high rate of club membership suggests the hypothesis that, on the voluntary sociocivic level, cities of the 25,000 to 50,000 class may be more highly organized than either smaller or larger places.

Analysis of suburban club membership by race and sex is of interest. Forty-three per cent of A's white adult residents and 34 per cent of B's belong to one or more local associations. No Negro resident of A and 61 per cent of those in B are club participants. Thirty-three per cent of A's white men and 50 per cent of its white women belong to clubs, while the figures for B are 44 and 24 per cent. Negro men and women in B rank high in club membership: 60 and 62 per cent, respectively.

From the figure, it would appear that A's relatively high participation average is due to its women. Exactly the reverse is true for B, where the male score is higher than the combined

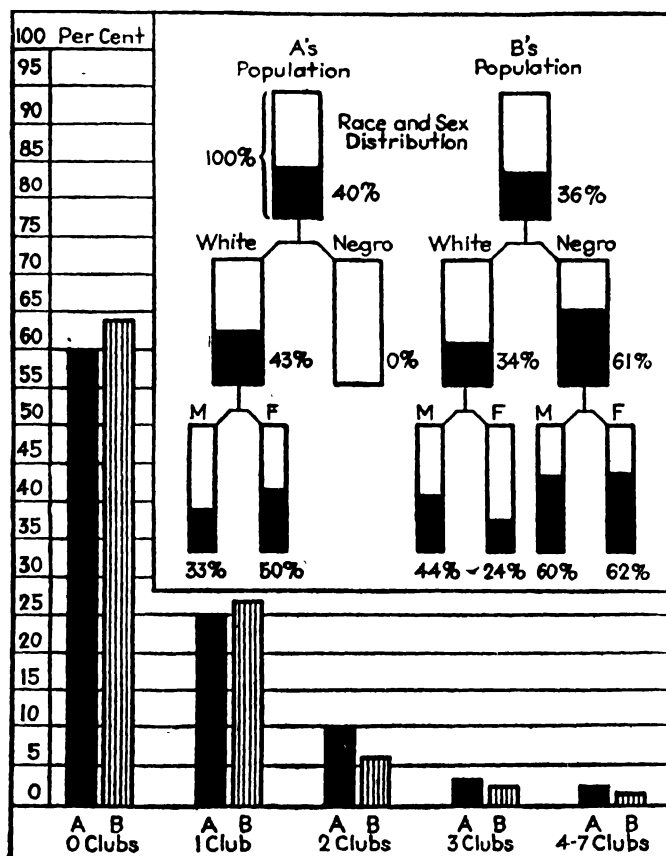


FIG. 14. Club membership in communities A and B. Insert shows members (solid color) as per cent of total population and distributed by race and sex. (From Mirra Komarovsky, "A Comparative Study of Voluntary Organizations of Two Suburban Communities," *Publication of the American Sociological Society*, 27 (1932), 82-87.)

score of the women. Almost three-fourths of A's men are commuters, a fact which accounts for their lack of interest in local civic clubs. Only a third of B's men are commuters, and over a half are locally employed. While male commuters are not very

concerned with community life, their wives are, and hence the women of A are more highly organized than those of B.

But commuting back and forth to New York City is not the only factor accounting for differences in the two areas. A is a more highly integrated community. Being homogeneous and hence like-minded in civic affairs, it needs fewer organizations to conduct community functions. B stands in sharp contrast. Being heterogeneous, its population has many divergent aims and is divided into various special interest groups. For example, where A has no "neighborhood improvement association," B has five. Each one seeks to further the interests of its own small district and thus deals with matters which in A are the concern of the entire community. Again, B has 12 associations classified as "political," whereas A has none. Curious as it may sound, B is *disorganized because it is overorganized*. It has split into so many groups that one blocks another, and effective, inclusive action is next to impossible.

From studies of this nature one can sense the meaning of urban community organization. As the city grows in size it becomes more heterogeneous in make-up and more diverse in interests. Stresses and strains arise, as in Middletown, and presently the whole fractures into fairly like-minded parts: a north side, a west side, a Negro section, a residential property-owners association, a Hill Street area. Loyalty to the city as a whole is replaced by loyalty to one of its many parts or else by *anomie*, a drifting, rootless life. Community betterment comes to mean neighborhood improvement, and "organization" means mobilizing neighborhood dwellers for an assault on city council so that some area group or special interest can get more of whatever improvement it may want.

The above sentence suggests again the need for over-all leadership, the kind of inclusive viewpoint that can be illustrated by an anecdote.

At a large state university, the faculty was discussing an important issue. The meeting was large and formal. Reports were being made by deans, divisional heads, department chairmen, and so on down the line. Each speaker represented a specific area and spoke from that point of view. Tension

mounted as faculty and administrative alignments became clear. Presently, an aged staff member arose, a scholar of international reputation. "Mr. President," he said in a squeaky voice, "Mister President?" Not receiving recognition, he tried to speak louder and waved a handful of papers. This time, the president glanced up, fumbled with his glasses, looked up again and said, with curttness, "Yes, Dr. ———, what is it? What do you want?"

"Well, Mr. President," said the professor, "may I speak on the issue?" Again, a moment of indecision, a weighing and balancing. "Well, Dr. ———, whom do you represent?" The professor was, for a moment, completely speechless, confused. And then, in the same vague voice, a voice once known for its vibrant qualities, "Whom do I represent? Why, ah, Mr. President, I represent the universe!"

Again and again in community work, one can find good men and women to speak for business, for the school, for farmers, for the church but not for the area as a whole. Who can know the whole life of a place or, knowing, care about that life? The problem of problems is to find this inclusive type of concern and viewpoint, persons who can speak for "the universe" as it impinges upon the locality.

Problems and Projects

1. Turn back to Chap. 3, and study Fig. 3, a frame of reference for community study. Has it been well applied in the Middletown case? Where would the case have been better if more data had been given?

2. Would you like to live in the Middletown community? To your way of thinking, what is good and bad about its mode of life?

3. Compare Muncie's system of social classes with those of Newburyport and explain the difference.

4. According to the Lynds, there are two economic ladders in Middletown. One begins at the bottom but is "short, hard to climb and leads nowhere." The other starts a long ways from the bottom and leads up but "fewer and fewer persons are able to climb it." Tell in your own words what the Lynds mean by these "ladders." Can you give cases of persons who tried to climb one or the other, telling how their mobility came out?

5. Set up a class panel of three members, each to read one of the

following articles by Richard Centers and then meet as a group to share their findings on occupations with the class:

"Occupational Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (1948), 197-203, 623-625.

"Motivational Aspects," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 28 (1948), 187-217.

"Attitudes and Beliefs," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 27 (1948), 159-185.

6. Read the original *Middletown in Transition*, pp. 487-510, on the values this community seems to hold. Compare these viewpoints with Lynd's discussion of "value conflicts" in his *Knowledge for What?*, pp. 54-113, and then summarize your findings for the class

7. What kind of community members are college students in the college community—permanent, provisional, transitory? Hold a panel discussion on the community behaviors of college students, plus local reactions to these behaviors.

8. What do you understand by "the local power system"? Why should a teacher know as much about it as can be found out? How would one study the nature and uses of power in your present college community?

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Edwards, Newton: "Educational Implications of Population Change," *Educational Forum*, 10 (March, 1946), 281-288.

Komarovsky, Mirra: "Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946), 686-698.

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CHAPTER 7

THE GREAT METROPOLIS

One pleasure of travel, writes Von Ogden Vogt, is "the discovery of places that are descript." From "house building to worship," they reveal "a common view of life" and hence impress one with their "unity and charm," their "singleness of purpose." By implication, there are communities of another kind. There are nondescript places, areas of polyglot peoples and divergent cultures. These are mostly our great cities, tumultuous conglomerates that cohere but never really grow together. The metropolis, with its million or more people, is of this nature. Ever alive and ever changing, it is not restful to contemplate; it is, on the contrary, complex, exciting, and problematic.

Chicago is representative of the world's great metropolitan centers. City of 3.4 millions and second largest in the nation, it is a place of towering skyscrapers, beautiful, arrogant avenues, and dingy tenements housing their uncountable, anonymous thousands. It is a city of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, a world-center of art and science, vice and crime. It is anything that anybody has said about it, many worlds that meet and mingle, wheels with a score of interlocking gears. To describe its life and structure, its personalities and institutions, its past and future, is manifestly impossible. Our aim will be to approximate such a picture. After this, as in preceding chapters, we shall generalize for the community type represented.

CHICAGO: AN OVERVIEW

Chicago has been selected for study not only because it typifies the extremes in urbanization but because it has probably been the object of more sociological research than any other great city in the nation. While no one volume deals with the whole of its complex being, the work of Zorbaugh is more complete than that

of any other student. This volume and related books have been made the basis of the case account.¹

A GREAT CITY AND ITS PEOPLE

A Century of Growth. It has been said that Chicago's past is so recent that one can reach out his hand and touch it. Still alive are stories of the defense of old Fort Dearborn against the Indians, and the parents of the present generation rebuilt the city from the ashes of the great fire of 1871. Mud flats and recurring floods, cholera and malaria, Indian wars and trade rivalries, strikes, race riots, depressions, and world conflicts have all been taken in stride by this lusty giant of the Midwest.

Tradition has it that the first log cabin on the site of what is now Chicago was built by a Negro. It was acquired by John Kinzie, a white settler, about 1804. After the War of 1812, a frontier trading post grew up between the Y-shaped branches of the Chicago River. Wharves were built along its banks, the lake harbor was developed, lumberyards and machine shops made their appearance. In 1848, the first stockyards, the "Bull's Head" yards, were constructed at Madison and Ashland avenues, the first boat passed through the canal, and a large field in the center of the village was set aside as a camping ground for incoming migrants. Lines of prairie schooners were a common sight, as was the weekly steamer from Buffalo bringing mail, supplies, and settlers. Chicago at this time was a community of male workers, fur trappers, small traders, land speculators, questionable women, and adventuresome pioneers.

In 1837, when Chicago was incorporated, its North and West sides were in effect separate towns; its South side was still an expanse of sandy beach and mud flats. In 1840, its population was 5,000. Cincinnati at that time had a population of 46,000, Pittsburgh, 21,000, Louisville, 21,000, and St. Louis, 16,000. Cleveland, Columbus, and Dayton, each with a population of 6,000, outranked the "Windy City." New York, then as now, was the nation's colossus with 312,000. Baltimore and New Orleans ranked next with 102,000 each, and then Boston and Philadelphia with 93,000 each.

¹ Harvey Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* (1929); T. V. Smith and L. D. White, *Chicago: An Experiment in the Social Sciences* (1929); Charles E. Merriam *et al.*, *The Government of the Metropolitan Region of Chicago* (1933); W. F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (1943); St. Claire Drake and H. R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (1945); Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (1946).

Chicago's growth is a story of its conquest of the "midland"—the region stretching westward from the lakes toward the Pacific. Nature was not stingy when she made this rolling country with its fertile soil, plentiful rainfall, lumber, coal, and iron resources. Located at a strategic break in land-water transportation, Chicago was in a position to profit by its exploitation. But the log town, as noted in the population figures, was a late comer. Cincinnati and St. Louis were already prosperous port cities, and Detroit, much later to become the "motor city," was forging ahead year by year. How to ward off this competition was Chicago's great problem.

To an extent, the Civil War made Chicago. With corn and wheat fields depleted of man power, the city poured out its reapers and binders and farm machinery. With the government buying for armies, it became a collector, depositor, and reshipper of grains and meats, goods and equipment. Over the years it has increased its lead on older rivals. Today it is the center of the nation's meat-packing, grain-exporting, machine-making, and mail-order business.

The great fire of 1871 checked for a moment the upswing of the prairie capital. The site of the O'Leary barn, where the fire started, is marked by a tablet a few blocks south of Hull House. The North Side was virtually wiped out, the old Water Tower being almost the only "sight" dating back to the fire. Rebuilding took place immediately, starting in the central business district. It crossed the river within a year and spread on into new territory. Brownstone fronts replaced frame cottages, pretentious business structures the earlier brick buildings of the "Loop." To say that a new city arose from the ashes of the old is a proximate truth, the present city as we know it.

In 1850, Chicago ranked twenty-fifth in population among the cities of the nation. In 1890, and in all succeeding census counts, it was second only to New York. Since 1890 its rate of growth has exceeded that of New York. In 1930 it contained 3,376,438 persons, and its first decrease in numbers was recorded in the local census of 1934.

The Urban Pattern. Long before the city reached its present proportions, its pattern of development was apparent. Business concentrated in the canyonlike streets of the Loop. Light industries and "sweated trades" appeared in an irregular belt fringing the Loop. Heavy industries arose along the river and, with the congestion at the city's center, they spread outward toward its rim. Incoming migrants, native and foreign, white and colored, settled near their jobs at the city's center or in industrial districts such as the "back of the yards" area.

Bordering the "slums" there grew up a region of furnished rooms,

and farther out, in the middle city and along the lines of rapid transportation, workmen built their modest homes. A Latin Quarter, Chicago's nearest approach to the bohemia of the Old World, took root near the old Water Tower. To the north, along the Lake front, and later southward along Lake Shore Drive, the "four hundred" found lodgment in spacious homes and imposing apartment hotels.

Smaller towns and cities, which had been made parts of Chicago by incorporation, continued as neighborhood business centers. Skirting the city's rim was the commuters' zone, and on beyond for miles into the country were the fingerlike chains of suburban towns and satellite cities.

To "see Chicago" one must visualize it in terms of these interlocking parts. Each part is wedged into the *cadre* of the city, belonging where it is found and having its own distinctive role and function in metropolitan economy.

Central Business District. Chicago's "Loop" is the nerve center of its corporate life. Here are banking houses and stock exchanges, trade marts and great department stores, smart specialty shops, newspapers, theaters, art galleries, and libraries. Steel-ribbed and air-conditioned skyscrapers provide innumerable cubicles for commercial and professional offices. Each concern, from a hole-in-the-wall headquarters of some national association to showpiece business centers sprawling over a city block, has had to struggle for the space it occupies. Land values are higher here than at any other place in the city. At the intersection of Madison Avenue and State Street, reported as the busiest corner in the world, land had a front foot value of \$24,700 (1930). Values tend to fall at regular intervals along radial arteries outward toward the suburbs.

By day the atmosphere of the central business district is that of bustling commerce; by night its crowds change to noisy, pushing thrill seekers in search of entertainment. Out from the area go swift traffic lanes, bringing in possibly a fourth of all the city's people in an average day. With main thoroughfares unable to handle the rising tide of traffic, Chicago long ago double-decked certain streets and more recently triple-decked a few, speeded up "el" trains, and added a subway.

Unknown to the vast majority of local inhabitants, a tunnel system 62.5 miles long runs under the principal uptown streets. Trams shuttle back and forth between merchandising concerns and the river. They bring in some 600,000 tons of package freight in an average year and they take out 300,000 tons of cinders and waste materials. Were these

undersurface convoys suddenly suspended, the traffic jam would be of unbelievable proportions.

Blighted Areas. Throughout the city's broad expanse but mainly abutting the Loop are "the slums." These are the most nondescript

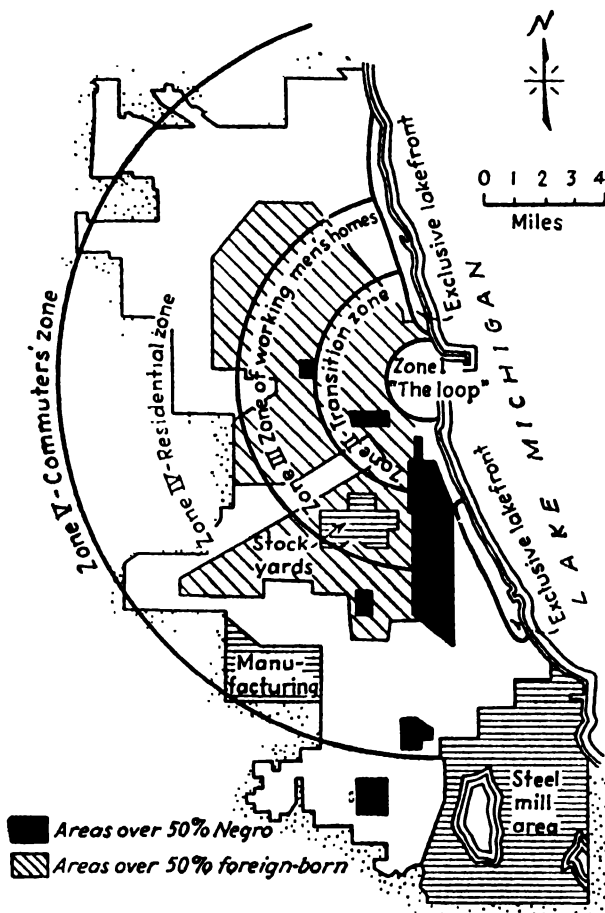


FIG. 15. Zones of Chicago city growth. (Adapted from Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis*, 15-16. Used by permission.)

areas of the great city, and West Madison Street is typical. Here are cheap movies and vaudeville, dance halls and vice resorts, saloons and rescue missions, flophouses and relief shelters, restaurants and employment offices, pawnshops and secondhand stores. Here is a basic work-

ing population of bewildered immigrants, Negro migrants, and others. Here are charwomen, raucous-voiced peddlers, homeless men, young transients, sex perverts, skin-game artists, racketeers, ward heelers, numbers barons, soap-box radicals, and rampant soul-savers. Here, too, are great humanitarians who, like the late Jane Addams and Mary McDowell, have given a lifetime of service to these anonymous peoples.

Crisscrossing the "main stem," as the hobo calls West Madison Street, are narrower streets lined with dingy tenements, basement dwellings where the sunlight never penetrates, and row on row of two- to four-room "cold-water flats." Within the area are small parks with field houses and gymnasiums, settlement houses, and the tall spires of Catholic churches.

The slums are a region of blight and transition. Their population is incessantly on the march. Newcomers, from the four corners of the world, move in, and those who can afford it move out and "up." Properties are deteriorated; rentals are low and land values high, land being held for a possible expansion of the business district. On every index of social disorganization, the slums outrank any other part of the city. They are the city's ever-resistant problem; no one willed them, no thoughtful citizen wants them, and yet their elimination has pretty well defied business, governmental, and humanitarian efforts.

The Gold Coast. Clinging to the Lake shore, yet within a stone's throw of what the newspapers are wont to call "Death Corner" (Milton Avenue), is the famous Gold Coast. Here Vanity Fair lives in luxurious mansions and exclusive apartment hotels, glides up the avenue in imported limousines with liveried attendants, deigns to speak to the hoi polloi in accents known only to the select few, and keeps the rest of the literate city agog with its comings and goings, its smart parties and social affairs. Here is the habitat of the Four Hundred—the clubman and society woman, the sportsman and "playboy," the social climber and patron of the arts, the philanthropist and sophisticate.

Like other areas, the Gold Coast has a life of many hues. One aspect of its existence centers around "the social game." This is a never-ending maneuvering for social position. It involves the fine arts of personal publicity, of "good form" in all things, of being seen with the right persons at the right places, of finesse in staging social events. Among the types to which the social game has given rise is the social secretary. Her duties include answering correspondence, making appointments, planning receptions, keeping files of birthdays, of family movements, and of eligible bachelors.

A more serious side of Gold Coast life has to do with civic affairs and

charities. Many persons of wealth and ability take an active part in welfare work. They support settlements and nurseries, churches and clinics, and other projects which, for the moment or for life, appeal to their conscience and imagination. Without this support, voluntary civic enterprises could not exist.

World of Furnished Rooms. Behind the Outer Drive and meshing with the slums is an area of furnished rooms. It is one of many such areas, each found within convenient access to the Loop. It is a world of mobile young people, a childless world and almost a marriageless one. Its streets have a monotonous sameness, its buildings a shabby respectability. Once-fashionable homes have been converted into rooming houses with "hot plate" privileges. Here are waitresses and shopgirls, salespeople, office help, students of the arts, taxi-dancers, and others. Here are thwarted ambitions, sex restlessness, and a contagious anomie.

Within the area are cheap cafeterias and gaudy tearooms, cigar stores and newsstands, corner groceries and beauty shops, cabarets and small night clubs. More than anything else, the rooming house gives color to the district. Unlike the old-fashioned boardinghouse, where gentlemen callers were entertained under the watchful eye of the landlady, the rooming house is completely commercial. When asked if the couples in her house were married, a landlady said: "I don't know; I don't care. I want to rent rooms." Her interest was wholly impersonal; she expected the rent in cash and when due.

Towertown: The Latin Quarter. Sprawling out from the base of the old rustic Tower is "the village." Here are studios, art shops, bookstores, little theaters, night clubs, and cabarets. Here are dabblers in exotic forms of self-expression, egocentric poseurs, tired radicals, underworld characters on display, and bourgeois intruders. Here "arty folk"—more pseudo than genuine—wear flowing ties, give fantastic parties, and live in the midst of what the tabloids call temptation. "It's all crazy, I call it," said an old Irish scrubwoman, a judgment in which heavier minds have concurred.

Villagers are not to be confused with the district's basic population or with the stream of sightseers who visit the Quarter because of its glamour and glitter, its freedom and nudity. Village dwellers are as a rule maladjusted persons, at war with themselves or seeking to escape the mode of life into which they were born. They scoff at eminent artists who have made money, poke fun at Babbitts in all its guises, repudiate traditional values, in short, make of unconventionality an abiding convention. In seeking complete emancipation, they have

become individualistic and irresponsible. Towertown offers an outlet for their energies but not a solution to their problems.

Ethnic Colonies. One can, as it were, travel around the world in Chicago. Here are Irish shanty towns, German villages, Jewish ghettos, little Italies, Chinatowns, Polish quarters, and black belts. Within these little islands of transplanted peoples are found a variety of alien institutions. There are foreign groceries, kosher shops, lodges, churches, benefit associations, nationalistic societies, athletic and recreational clubs. Here are seen the "boss" of the colony, the padrone, steamship agents, vice lords, and race leaders. Here also are social workers, public health nurses, and club organizers.

At least 28 ethnic groups are to be found in Chicago. In some sections, wave after wave of Old World invaders has swept in, won a tentative abode, and moved on under competition from an incoming people of a lower level of living. No group has sought the slums, much less created them. It has entered the city at the point of least resistance—the point of toleration, cheap rents, and nearness to the job.

Like other industrial centers, Chicago has shared in the Negro's cityward migration. The recency and magnitude of this drift from the southland is startling. In 1910, the city's colored population was only 44,103; in 1920, 109,594; in 1930, 233,903; in 1944, 337,000. Negroes are found throughout the city, yet the point of greatest concentration is easy to locate. It extends southward from above 22nd Street to 71st Street and is wedged in fairly well between Cottage Grove and State Street. This "black belt" is not a slum or a fringe; it is a city within a city, the capital of the Negro's Midwestern urban world.

Foreign-born, tending to concentrate at first in colonies, move soon to areas of first settlement, then to better residential districts and become lost in the general population. In 1930, almost a fourth of the city's people were of foreign birth; 1940, about 20 per cent, and in the following numerical order: Polish, German, Russian, Italian, Swedish, and so on down the list. "DP's" and other foreign persons, including students in the city's great universities, have increased the above numbers slightly but not affected the relative proportions.

Middle Class Homes. From the Tribune Tower or Wrigley Building one sees miles of housetops in seriate rows to the north, the west, and the south. Within this mid-city live the mass of Chicago's millions. Typical places are one-family homes, kitchenette apartments, four- to eight-room flats, and swank family hotels where housekeeping has been reduced to a minimum. Here, too, are "around the corner groceries,"

meat markets, bakeries, delicatessens, hand laundries, dry cleaners, shoe repair shops, garages, and other personal service institutions.

Neighborhood Business Centers. Many retail stores and personal service agencies are found either in local business centers or on "string street" developments. String streets are main traffic lanes which radiate outward from the Loop like spokes from the hub of a wheel. Commercial concerns line each side of the street at irregular intervals but seldom spread any distance on intersecting roads and avenues. They cater to a transient trade, persons who pass along the street or are employed near by.

Chicago has perhaps a hundred neighborhood business centers. Some were once the center of a village or town and were added to the city by incorporation. Others have sprung up to serve a new subdivision. Only a few, such as Cottage Grove, are at all complete replicas of the downtown business district. Here are shops and retail stores, movies, dance halls, a newspaper, and the usual community agencies. Local self-consciousness is strong, and in many ways the center functions as a subcommunity.

Commuters' Zone and Suburbs. Bordering the city's rim is the commuters' zone. Along with suburban towns, it has been called a "bed-room area." Adult inhabitants, chiefly small-business, white-collar and professional persons, leave home early each weekday for shops and offices in the Loop and return in time for the evening meal. While statistics are not available on the commuting radius, it is known to be expanding due to motor travel and rapid transit lines. Beyond a 15- to 20-mile limit, the inflow of traffic shows a sharp tapering off.

Around Chicago, within a 50-mile arc from north to south, are Evanston, Waukegan, Elgin, Aurora, Joliet, Gary, and more than a hundred smaller towns and villages. Each of these suburban centers is located on a main highway emptying into the Loop. These highways run in fingerlike formation from the city's center, and towns and villages resemble chains or strings of overlapping settlements. Some are residential towns, others centers of heavy industry, and still others harbors of vice and crime. Open country or "rurban fringes" dot the area with clusters of tar-paper shacks and stately homes, big farms and half-acre tracks, golf courses, cemeteries, and obnoxious industries.

The Hinterland. The hinterland region, the midland area already discussed, comprises some twenty states. This tributary country, with its many local centers of influence, constitutes the metropolitan region of which Chicago is the dominant center. Measures of this dominance, its nature, extent, and changes, have been made via newspaper circula-

tion, addresses of buyers who visit Chicago, railroad tickets, bank transactions, public utility services, and so on. Eventually the city's "pull" meets that of some other great metropolis, such as Detroit, Cincinnati, or St. Louis. One can in theory bound Chicago's hinterland, but no line can have much permanence. Technological improvements and competitive conditions keep the region fluid and mobile.

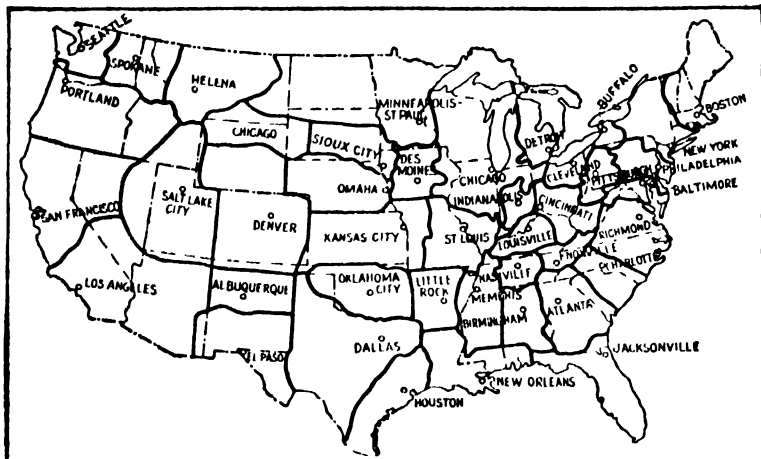


FIG. 16. Metropolitan regions as defined by newspaper circulation. (From R. D. McKenzie, *Recent Social Trends*, p. 453, McGraw-Hill, 1933. Used by permission.)

Aside from a bit of history, emphasis in this account has been on the areas and zones of the great city, their visible forms, personality types, and institutions. From strips of wealth and smartness, from owners of the nation's great fortunes, to the stinking, screaming street life of the real slums, the range is very great, unbelievably great unless one can say, with Chicken Little of nursery-tale fame, "I saw it with my eyes, I heard it with my ears, and some of it fell on my head." One's lasting impression of Chicago is that of complexity, of a vast movie set designed to illustrate the full range of differences which divide the nation's great generic modes of life, the country and the city.

THE OUTLOOK FOR CITY GROWTH

With cities so dominant in our culture, with the drift cityward so much a part of daily living, it is relevant to look briefly at the

future of metropolitan centers. Until the 1940 census, it was commonly held that big cities would get bigger, bigger cities would expand world markets, all part and parcel of our 140 years of urban drift. Now, for the first time in our history, the largest places have failed to register a population increase, a slacking off in growth that may portend the city's waning power.

Statistics show clearly the decline in large-city growth. Between 1930 and 1940, 27 of the 93 places of more than 100,000 lost population. Of the 328 cities of 25,000 or more in 1930, over a fourth declined in size. Put in still broader terms, population increase in all cities of 2,500 and over in the decade was only 7.9 per cent as compared with an average gain of 31 per cent in these places for the four decades from 1890 to 1930.² While causes are multiple, for example, the general decline in birth rate and stoppage of adult European immigration, the chief cause is viewed as "the failure of cities to expand employment opportunities" so that they can continue to attract a great migration from the rural sections of the nation.³

Have great cities really reached their peak in size? Few specialists in population are willing to venture clear predictions. Mostly, as in other social-science areas, the answer is made to depend on a number of variables—job opportunities, world markets, war, and technological processes. Under threat of atomic bombing and for less spectacular reasons, the general "decentralization of functions" has made itself felt in all great metropolitan communities. For example, the decline in New York City's national dominance has reached larger proportions than might be thought.

THE DECLINE OF NEW YORK CITY⁴

Our city is distributing to its business men a fat and handsome brochure of the kind used by up-and-coming towns to attract trade and industry. New York's sales talk begins this way: "Lodestone of

² J. M. Gillette, "Some Population Shifts in the United States, 1930-1940," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941), 619-629.

³ Homer Hoyt, "The Structure of American Cities in the Post-war Era," *American Journal of Sociology*, 48 (1943), 475-481.

⁴ Based upon Richard H. Rovere, "The Decline of New York City," *American Mercury*, 43 (May, 1944), 526-532.

world commerce . . . shipping, retail, recreational, and cultural center of the nation." Some publicity man's tongue was in his cheek when that was written. Of late, our situation has been looked at so often, with an eye to the immediate future, that city fathers are in a tizzy.

War is concealing some evidence of New York's decline, a decline that is relative, not absolute, but is hastening along. While it is still the greatest manufacturing center in the nation as measured by number of workers, it learned early in the war that it could do little to help the national effort. Nearly all its 25,000 factories are small shops equipped to make light consumer goods, hence not readily convertible to war production. Priorities have interfered with their normal operations, and, in 1943 when man-power shortage was severe, the city still had 250,000 unemployed. With 40 per cent of the nation's clothing-plant capacity, New York got only 8 per cent of Army-Navy uniform contracts, the great bulk going to large and small cities in the southern states. Washington's explanations were unequivocal: New York's labor was more expensive, its machinery older and less efficient.

Next to garment making, the city's largest industry is printing, and its future is not bright. High rents and high union scales have driven dozens of firms to other centers. Print companies find that they can locate elsewhere, save money, and still not lose New York business. Nine million copies of the *Reader's Digest* are printed each month in Concord, New Hampshire, on a gigantic press that puts out many other New York magazines. Even a news weekly like *Time* can be edited in New York and printed, in the main, in Chicago, thus reaching all its readers but those on the eastern seaboard a full day earlier. Geography is among the several reasons for New York's decline, for a center of the country should be nearer the center of the country.

Just now, New York is enjoying the war boom, but it knows that it has had little part in it. Flush workers and service men on furlough flock into the city and spend their money, but the money is made elsewhere. New York has an enormous investment in its stately uptown pleasure domes, likewise, in its streamlined offices and gilded dwelling places. All of these were built on the theory that the thousands then making big money would multiply fast enough to fill them up, and they did until the 1930 crash. Cold draughts blew through these buildings until the war, and the forecast now is continued cool and windy. In 1937, real-estate sales were only 63.7 per cent of assessed property valuations.

A product of the nineteenth century, New York is now something of

an anachronism. When money power settled down on Wall Street, its points of preeminence were two—banking and shipping. Now it has no exclusive control over either. From 1929 to 1939, exports and imports fell off everywhere but far more in New York than in such ports as New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, and Seattle, due to South American and Pacific-wise trade. It will lose still more traffic if the projected St. Lawrence and Great Lakes waterway to the Atlantic is opened. As air freight becomes a reality, the consequences will be disastrous. Goods bound in or out of the country will not have to make the transfer at New York City to land or ocean carriers. Planes will fly over and through to their destinations.

Economics and culture are not unrelated. Broadway has long been the home of the American theater, grand opera, and popular entertainment. The city built the largest libraries, art galleries, and museums. It drew writers, scholars, and all manner of special talent. It founded Columbia University, New York University, and the city colleges; it developed the best newspapers and became, in short, the place where one could best keep abreast of events in the country and throughout the world. Now all of this is challenged. Hollywood is the nation's indisputable entertainment capital, and it has made great inroads of late on the radio and legitimate theater and as a fashion center. Columbia still flourishes but so do other regional colleges and universities. "Little magazines," long the breeding place of fine writing, are not confined to Greenwich Village, and university presses are springing up everywhere. National radio hookups can now be staged from any crossroads center. Such decentralization, as it becomes more common, will lead to the end of New York's unquestioned dominance of national culture.

That New York's days of remote control are waning, no one can doubt. But this should cause no grief, even to New Yorkers. At some point in the growth of cities, the law of diminishing returns begins to operate. Cities become unmanageably large and thus destructive of human values. Trimmed down to size, New York will be a more attractive place—not the capital of the Western world but one of its several great regional centers, serving regional needs and interests.

Whatever may happen to cities of greatest size, the trend toward regional "capitals" is unmistakable. Cities are adapting to their hinterlands, areas of distinguishable homogeneity in people, in culture, and in needs.

BIG CITY ORIGINS AND STRUCTURE

We have said that the great metropolis is, in effect, a new social and economic entity. To be sure, cities are very old in human history; yet those of ancient times differed in many ways from those of the present. Cities then were smaller in size, more homogeneous in population, less complex in structure, simpler in functions, and held sway over far less of the world's total area. Then as now, the city and its region formed an organic interdependent whole, a unity extending as far as communication and competition could be made to reach.

Great cities do not arise hit or miss on the land. Their location and, to an extent, their growth potentials are determined by a number of factors. The most general rule is that "population and wealth tend to concentrate wherever there is a break in transportation." Mostly, these breaks occur at junctures of land and water routes, type cases being Chicago, New York, and St. Louis. Cities grow to huge size because of access to raw materials, labor, markets, and sources of productive power. They are the products of modern engineering, the miracles of mass production, mass living, and mass control of people.

All great cities show a process of physical growth. They begin, with few exceptions, as villages and towns, adding industries and people, expanding land area and markets, increasing in drive and power. In general, their growth is in three directions: outward, upward, and downward, as an illustration will show.

The hub and center of New York City is Manhattan, an island 2 miles in width at its maximum point and 13 miles long. About two million people live on this narrow neck of land, making it the most densely settled place in the world. Other millions find their way in and out of the area during the business day and again for recreational reasons in the evening. One result has been to develop what is perhaps our most efficient transportation system. For instance, instead of the usual two- or three-deck streets as in many cities, New York at Herald Square had a six-deck rapid-transit system until 1939, a model of which is seen in Fig. 17.

Above the street level in Fig. 17, there is an elevated line, and below it are auto traffic and bus lines. Next are pneumatic tubes

for mail and package expressing, followed by two subways one above the other. On the bottom are the tunnels of the Pennsylvania and Long Island railroads, serving both commuter and long-distance travelers.

Bounded by rivers and the bay, Manhattan has not been able to obtain additional space by spreading outward. It has, there-

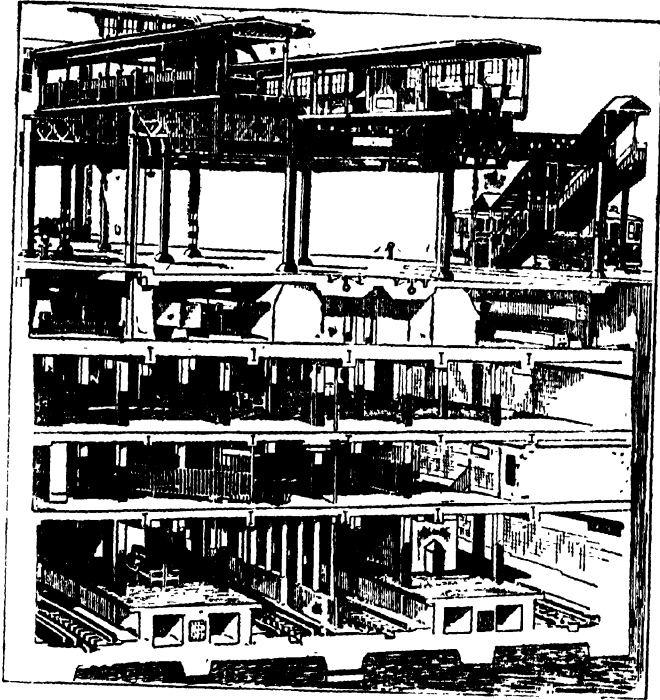


FIG. 17. Traffic intersection at Herald Square, New York City, before the Sixth Avenue elevated was torn down. (Courtesy of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.)

fore, grown up into the air and down into the solid rock. As early as 1932, it had 493 buildings of over 20 stories, 93 of over 30 stories, and the tallest reached 1,200 feet in the air. It has been said that the 48 passenger elevators in the Equitable Building carry an average of 96,000 persons per day. During a year they travel 275,000 miles, or 11 times around the earth at the equator. The building has 40 stories, $1\frac{1}{4}$ million square feet of

rentable space, a working population of 12,000, and over 135,000 persons pass through its portals in an average day. These figures, inadequate as they now are, give some idea of New York's aerial expansion by way of its "vertical streets."

How far upward will the skyscraper go? In general, the limit seems to be an economic and not a mechanical one. The determining factor in business buildings is "the ratio between land area and rentable floor space." To achieve a rentable floor space of more than twenty-five times its ground area, the Empire State Building had to go to 85 stories. Since ratios do not increase in direct proportion to height, it is possible that the skyscraper has attained or even passed its maximum economical height. Residential apartments have broken the custom of a "walk-up" height and joined the skyscraper class, since professional people desire to live close to their work. They now compete with office and hotel buildings for high land-value sites.

While New York's sky line has been well publicized, its underground empire is almost unknown even to New Yorkers. One is amazed at its nature and size and at the extent to which the upper city depends upon it for innumerable services.

CITY UNDER THE CITY

Without coming to the street level, a person can travel 840 miles by subway, trade at stores varied enough to equip an expedition, dine and dance in a dozen restaurants, swim in one of the largest indoor pools in the world, attend motion-picture shows, and sleep in any one of five large hotels.

In addition, New York's "underworld" contains more than 5,000 miles of gas mains, 35,669 miles of cables carrying electrical current, 48 miles of steam mains, more than 4,000 miles of water mains which connect with the Catskills 100 miles away, untold miles of telephone and telegraph wires, fire-alarm and police signal systems, 3,000 miles of sewers with main arteries 7 feet high and 16 feet wide, 22 traffic tunnels beneath the East and Hudson rivers, and acres of trains at two major railway termini.

These veins, arteries, and nerve centers feed the city and animate its life. They carry the light that illuminates Broadway, the current that runs the factories, the gas that cooks the meals, the steam that heats the buildings, the water that makes existence possible. Thou-

sands of persons work in this underground empire under artificial light and by artificial ventilation.

New Yorkers are unconscious of this city beneath a city until something goes wrong. But let a water main burst, and a torrent spouts many feet in the air, crumbling pavement, cascading through streets, blocking traffic, flooding basements, causing short circuits, fires, and explosions. In peacetime, such calamities are rare. Sixty thousand manholes are the windows through which hundreds of experts keep watch on the winding miles of labyrinths and scores of essential services.

In reflecting on city growth, one further point should be made. In the Chicago case, the city was described in terms of a zonal theory of growth, the tendency of competition to sort and sift people and institutions into distinctive concentric circles from the city's center outward. Admittedly, this viewpoint is schematic; it must take into account a countertheory, a "sector" idea of growth. The notion here is that, in times of rapid expansion, city dwellers tend to settle along lines of mass transportation; hence the city grows outward along radial roads, like the spokes of a wheel. Of late, the automobile has made some change in this haphazard expansion. It has stimulated movement of people into open-country areas around the city, areas often of natural beauty and model-town planning. In the past decade, these "rurban" places have increased in population many times faster than have central and middle city areas.

URBAN LIFE AND PERSONALITY

What is the big city really like? How does its life strike the senses? Every visitor has impressions, and they must remind him, on reflection, of the fabled blind men and the elephant. Each man was right; yet all were wrong, for the animal was more than any man was able to comprehend.

BIG CITY WAY OF LIFE

1. The most obvious feature of the urban habitat is its chaotic, unrelenting stimulation; clash, bang, and shriek morning, noon, and night. To the sound of brakes, one links the flash of neon signs, the endless gadgetry of shopwindows, the push and pull of strangers, the ever-present urge to go, to see, to be and do.

2. Always, there is the perpetual hurry, hurry, hurry. One runs to catch this, to make that, to avoid something else, until at last he runs to be running. Urban dwellers get up by the clock, eat by the clock, work by the clock, play by the clock, and die in increasing numbers at the "old age" of 45 in a vain effort to beat the clock game.

3. The urban way of life is highly mechanistic. Machines are everywhere—the factory, the office, filling station, streetcar, automat, juke box, pinball, and lesser gadgets. The world is a push-button world, a universe of handles, dials, faucets, and switches. Machines, man-made to be sure, are man-making. What is a factory worker but a kind of cog on an assembly line, caretaker of so many horsepower genii.

4. Urban living is impersonal. On "the street" in congested areas, in pocketed ethnic islands, at top-level café society, there is neighboring. But by and large, gossipy circuits and helpful sharing are at a minimum. Mostly, people are statistics, too many statistics. They are numbers or else conveniences—butcher, baker, teacher. Contacts are partial, cool and distant—the market price, a ready formula, the standard intake, professional services, the organized drive.

5. The urban way of life is commercial. Pay as you go, go where you please, get smart about money. In the city, one buys his comforts, his health, beauty, and leisure. He buys the right to move about, to come and go, to believe or doubt. Price tags are everywhere. Even a "blessed event," if unplanned, may be a catastrophe. Landless, propertyless almost, the job is mass society's great linkage to its place of dwelling. Lose the job, and all is lost, all rootage in pecuniary culture.

6. City life is extremely competitive. Men compete for food and sunshine, for things and power and status. The weak yield to the strong, the strong to the smart and cunning. Life takes the guise of a sporting event, a game of chance where "the good" make good; others are the pitied burden of the "free enterprise" system. There is freedom, to be sure, freedom to live or die, to sink or swim.

7. The city is the place of opportunity. Center of civilization, lodestar of brains and talent, it beckons the ambitious, the dissatisfied, the big frogs real or spurious in every little puddle. To those who yearn to test themselves, to compete with the best in ability, in art, in science and mechanical ingenuity, the city is a standing challenge.

8. The urban habitat exacts a price in strain and worry. For the big chance, maybe a major contribution to civilization, one suffers rigorous self-discipline, sleepless hours, ulcers, nerves, a proneness to neurotic tendencies. Insanity is largely an urban phenomenon.

9. Big cities show increasingly a certain kind of democratizing tendency, a leveling down to catch the greatest numbers. Where institutions must serve the daily needs of pack-jam living, the common denominator is the average man, quite often the lower than average. It is for the greatest profit that bread is baked, news is printed, movies made, and streetcars run. Tastes are assumed to be alike in a Coca Cola culture.

Clearly, the great city is a state of mind, a feeling tone, a way of acting, as well as an ecological and institutional organization. Urban dwellers are said to have a "different psychology," although its exact nature is speculative. City life is so varied and changeful that its impact on personality could scarcely be other than multiformed and variable.

As compared with rural dwellers, urban people tend to be more specialized in work and play pursuits, in levels of taste and appreciation, hence more interdependent one on another. They show wider variations in inclinations and achievements. They are more time-conscious, stressing precision in behavior. They are more mobile, hence more insecure. The typical mindset is realistic and experimental, impersonal and self-centered. Much of life is lived in terms of "face" and "front," the urban hallmarks of class and status. Old-family and first-family lineages, in the Yankee City sense, while still much in evidence, are probably of less importance than in smaller, more stable places. In mobile, urban society, a new character type is emerging, a cultural hero who can be called the celebrity.

By *celebrity* is meant a person who has been accorded great, and perhaps sudden, popular favor—a military figure, election winner, movie actress, band leader, radio comic, gossip columnist, beauty queen, sports titleholder, popular author, big-time gambler, or notorious underworld gangster. Whatever his preeminence, the celebrity gathers a following from all walks of life, all kinds of people, and to shake the hand that shook his hand is indeed a signal honor. While his fame lasts, *i.e.*, while he is talked about, his is a high-ranking status. On his appearance, traffic is jammed, and its rules are reversed. Keys of the city are given him, plus other distinctions, honors, and panegyrics. Legends accumulate and grow with the telling, all showing how he is different and superior to other people.

Normal channels provide the popular hero contact with mass followers, usually parades, celebrations, and exhibitions. To approach the favored few, or rather for persons of various kinds to approach the reigning elite, the great city has created a special institution, the swanky nightclub—small, glamorous, expensive, and well-advertised. Here, under guise of anonymity, *le haut monde* can meet and mingle with any type of person, losing neither self-respect nor social status. What the celebrity shows, in substance, is mass society's interest in people and the basis for awarding them rank and privilege. Intermarriages, "old family" with the newly well-to-do and/or famous, are frequent enough to suggest that status barriers are indeed passable.

THE METROPOLIS AS A COMMUNITY

The metropolis is not always regarded as a community, and for just cause. Its physical size is so vast, its history so little known to inhabitants, its population so diverse and mobile, its problems so far removed from ordinary experience, its achievements so little a matter of common pride that the average dweller makes no pretense of understanding urban life as an organic whole. He can visualize his own street or neighborhood but not the city. Like his country cousin, he learns about its people and their activities from the press and radio. He has a vote but little voice in government, a civic duty but no way to perform it unless he joins a political party, a labor union, or some civic action group. When he takes stock of the situation at all, his mind tends to center on the points where the urban organism breaks down as a community—its unemployment, strikes, organized crime, protected vice, corrupt politics, government bureaucracy, communism, and institutional malfunctioning.

And yet the metropolis is a community because it functions as one. It makes ordinances and enforces laws; it collects taxes and revenues. It provides a host of indispensable public services. It protects life and property, establishes relief and welfare agencies, provides public education, and organizes recreational activities for needy children. It zones the city for building purposes, regulates commercial concerns, advertises the area's resources and advantages, and plans for its future expansion.

If the concept of community is not to be discarded as outworn, it must be applied to corporate undertakings of this character.

While the metropolis is not unlike the country village in many of its corporate aims, it differs in basic organization. Its unity does not derive from kin ties or inclusive locality bonds, or from intimacy of social relations or good-will impulses. Unity derives from the ceaseless struggle of power units for privilege and advantage, a point to which we shall return in the next chapter. A part of the city feels certain needs. Issues are publicized, public opinions are created, city council is petitioned, or other action is taken. If the cause is not carried, the losers accept results until a new try can be made, a new balance of power effected.

ANOMIE AND SOLIDARITÉ

From what has been said, one might regard the metropolitan community as an armed camp of sparring interests, pulling and hauling at city council, at the public schools, at whatever target swings into sight. The great city is that, but it is more than that. Here, too, are the unorganized millions who have slipped through the urban network of interconnected special interests, the nonparticipating, unanchored masses of roving job hunters, bound to their habitat by the most tenuous of ties. Of all that could be said about these people, three points are outstanding. They possess in mass a tremendous amount of *free-floating aggression*; hence they are more readily organizable in terms of hate and fear than through good-will sentiments.

Second, what we have called the urban aggregate shows, in attitude and conduct, an *extreme personalism*, a catch-as-catch-can existential philosophy of life where "he wins who has the power, he holds who can." While this is the product of mass society, some schools are surely contributing to it by their undue insistence on "individualism," the doctrine of do what you want, freedom at any price.

. . . in practical daily life the education which results from regarding a child as an individual is very different from that which results from regarding him as a future citizen. The cultivation of the in-

dividual mind is not, on the face of it, the same as the production of a useful citizen.⁵

In its most advanced form, personalism passes over into a state of *anomie*, the third characteristic of mass society. Anomie is a purposeless, ruleless, erratic kind of living, a condition increasingly noted by sociologists here and abroad.

In his classical study of suicide, Durkheim first recorded a surprising fact, namely, that suicide rates increased about as much in good times as in bad, though he had expected to find rates peaking in the bleak days of depression and despair. Reasoning that some noneconomic factor was at work, he found it to be the "rulelessness" caused by abrupt change, the lack of controlling definitions of behavior as evolved by a stable community and accepted by its members. Under conditions of rapid change, he writes:⁶

People no longer feel sure about what is possible and what is not, what is just and what is unjust, which claims or aspirations are legitimate and which go beyond measure. . . . Thus, the appetites of men, being no longer restrained by public opinion, now bewildered and disoriented, do not know any more where the bounds are before which they ought to come to a halt.

Anomie, as it is now known through research, is not confined to any handful of psychotic people. It is found throughout our industrial, fragmented society. Pushed by ambitions yet held short by lack of specific purpose, wanting to get on with living yet lacking a faith to live by, individuals feel lonely and alone, even in the midst of crowds. Feeling that they have no real friends, no one to trust, they lose the ability either to give or to receive affection, to belong to and derive strength from any intimate grouping including their own family. Driven by vague fears, harassed by inner conflicts, they cover up by sudden bursts of activity, by absorption in work, by strenuous efforts to

⁵ Bertrand Russell, *Education and the Social Order*, p. 10, G. Allen, London, 1932.

⁶ Émile Durkheim, *Le Suicide*, Alcan, Paris, 1897.

have fun, by irrational pronouncements on public affairs and daily living, by penitences imposed upon themselves for real or imagined wrongdoing. In moments of insight, they see their loss of orientation, the sense of getting nowhere, the uselessness of further effort. In 1947, there were over one hundred thousand more patients in mental hospitals in this country than in all its general hospitals.⁷

This, then, is anomie, in contrast to *solidarité*, a word used to indicate the near-perfect integration of individuals in a society with clean-cut, functional values, a society with rules for living which are understood by and acceptable to its members. Man is a group man; his life is group life, a loyalty to common norms and forms of living. There is every reason to think that he cannot live as a segmented being, a segment of a segment, a particle floating in space in search of "freedom."

IN RETROSPECT

In reflecting on the urban community, it is evident that its development has been too rapid, its problems too complex, for the central city to keep pace with the growth and needs of its member units. Community organization has not been all-inclusive; it has been *multinuclear*, i.e., around a number of sub-centers and in terms of vested interests. Undoubtedly, the city's center and its suburban fringe are best organized to secure their objectives. By contrast, the mid-city is lacking in community spirit. The slums are the most unorganized part of all. Their problems are greatest, their area consciousness least, and their influence hardest to make felt.

Throughout the city, in fact in mass society as a whole, there are an increasing number of unorganized persons, members of few or no groupings, who show in their conduct an individualism which, in extreme cases, takes the form of anomie, a ruleless life, an aloneness of the spirit and the mind. Free floating, frustrated, uncommitted, they are ready material for any hate movement, any horseman who may ride by.

⁷ William C. Menninger, "Recreation and Mental Health," *Recreation* (November, 1948), 1-8.

Of all the implications that might be drawn, our need of unity in diversity seems very, very great. In this, schools have a significant role to play, the shaping of mind and character in democratic ways. Metropolitan school systems, with their pack-jammed buildings, their bureaucratic organization, their academic interests, their insistence on conformity, are ill prepared to undertake this basic task. Slum schools, where need is greatest, are lowest in effectiveness on almost every count—the most outmoded buildings, worst equipment, poorest teaching, least parental support, and so on down the list. If ever radical experimentation was indicated, it would be in these understaffed, underpaid, mismanaged urban schools. What can such institutions do to improve area living, to educate for a better life? That the situation is not hopeless, that changes can be made, is the thought with which we close, for if nothing could be done there would be little sense in any reflection on social life in large metropolitan communities.

Problems and Projects

1. If you had a completely free choice, in what size community would you choose to live? Why?
2. Is your college community large enough to show the kinds of zonal areas discussed in the Chicago case? If so, plan a field trip on which the class will visit these areas and talk with persons such as social agency heads, school and church representatives, who know the life that people lead.
3. What part of the Chicago case interested you most? Moving from "the Loop" outward, discuss in turn each of the city's component parts.
4. As you now see it, what problems do schools have in such big cities? For a description of Chicago schools as they have been in the past, read and report on the account given in Chap. 9.
5. Invite some one who is well acquainted with your college community to come to class and talk over his experiences with you. Arrange a plan for interviewing this person so that he will know in advance the topics of interest to class members.
6. Give a 10-minute talk to class on one of the following topics:

"New Orleans, Old and New," Harlan Gilmore, in *American Sociological Review*, 9 (1944), 385-394.

"Street Corner Society," W. F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, University of Chicago Press, 1943.

"Hero Worship in America," O. E. Klapp, in *American Sociological Review*, 14 (1949), 53-62, or Sidney Hook, *The Hero in History*.

7. Have big cities reached their peak in size and influence? Arrange a class debate in which the question will be looked at from all relevant angles.

8. What is meant by "anomie"? How is it related to a concept discussed earlier in the course, the idea of social order? Can you apply this line of reasoning to your own recurring "blue moods" if any?

9. How do you feel about the assertion in the chapter that schools have gone too far in their emphasis on "individualism," that people need also to be educated for group membership and participation?

10. Conduct in class a sociodrama on the problem faced by many young people as to whether to stay in their home-town or move to some big city, for example, the problem of high-school graduate with secretarial training. What scenes will you have? Who should be represented?

11. Are urban slum schools as bad as they are often pictured? Explain your answer. What could be done to improve such schools?

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CHAPTER 8

UNITY-DISUNITY, CHANGE, AND PLANNING

With this chapter, we complete a study of American life in terms of its organized spatial areas, starting with Hollow Folk culture and ending with the most unique of all human habitats, the great city. The journey, we suspect, has not been easy, at times no doubt downright hard to carry through. Now, as we approach the end of community study, what has been learned? What new facts, concepts, and principles? What feelings about schools and their functions? Such questions call for a review and a restatement of principles.

From time to time along the way, inviting roads have come to view which could not be fully followed. One of these trails involves a topic on which students always want to know more, the problem of unity-disunity in community life. This is, of course, related to another matter, our ever-accelerating trend from rural to urban, primary to secondary ways of living, for out of this trend have come the social problems to which schools are heir. Finally, it would be unreal to leave community study without indicating its practical usefulness in providing a factual basis for area planning. After this chapter, we shall move on to the acculturation of young people, school and community problems and programs.

UNITY-DISUNITY: IMPRESSIONS

To the man on the street, community unity is a positive value. In moments of personal pique, he may change his mind, but it is not lasting. In unity, there is strength; in times of crisis, teamwork may mean survival. To leaders of thought and action, group unity seems imperative. Campus leaders urge students to take more part in "activities." Scoutmasters award

merit badges for "participation." Politicians exhort party members to attend rallies, ring doorbells, and watch the polls at elections. Union officers stress concerted action, a "united front" against management. Ministers congregate their parishioners; in fact every institution in the community would organize area dwellers in support of its aims and interests.

All of this is common knowledge, yet no one would claim that such unity as he has ever seen was either perfect or lasting. At every level of collective action, he could cite evidence of disunity, disorder, ineffective functioning, owing either to too little common effort or too much regimentation. Apparently unity, as indicated, say, by participation, is essential to the achievement of group aims, in fact to group survival; yet it is difficult to nurture and maintain.

A glance at any metropolitan newspaper will reveal much of the current disunity of local and national life. Symptoms of ill-being have been mentioned—strikes, crimes, illegal rackets, agency disputes, business competition, interchurch bickerings, interracial conflicts, resentment of Federal government interference, war or threats of war. During our most critical period of war production, December, 1941, to April, 1943, the Department of Labor reported 7,824 strikes, causing the idleness of 3.17 millions of workers for 19.5 million man-days of work. After July, 1943, when an antistrike law went into effect, work stoppages averaged 10 a day, twice the rate in July, 1942. Or take a standard FBI category, "activities inimical to national security." In the five years ending in 1938, the bureau handled about 35 cases a year; in 1942, with patriotism at its dearest premium, there were 218,734 cases, and in 1943, 390,805 cases. The vast majority of culprits were not enemy agents. On the contrary, they acted "on their own initiative," that is, from maliciousness, else were careless or engaged in so-called "pranks."

From evidence at hand, one can assert that unity-disunity seem inseparable, that average communities whatever their size are guilty of much bad civic housekeeping. This can be charged to the upsetting effects of war, to persistent human meanness, to misdirected profit motivations, to the decline of religious in-

fluences, to the inroad of communism. It can be explained, possibly, in a word, or it can be posed as a problem the answer to which can be found, if at all, deep within the most basic changes in our common life.

SPREAD OF URBANISM

Like any living organism, the great city seeks to maintain itself, to grow in size and power, hence to spread its influences over the country, to catch people and places in a continuous interchange. It attracts and absorbs rural and small-town migrants, providing them work opportunities, sloughing off their inept heritages and processing them in its ways. It diffuses its culture over the land, its manners and morals, technological processes and material things. City and country, country and city are, as we have said, the two great generic poles of human activity in the nation, so that thought can profitably be spent on the way they interact and are related.

The term usually given to city-country interaction is *urbanization*, the total process of assembling rural migrants and of disassembling urban influences. *Ruralization*, its opposite, is so inconspicuous in broad perspective as to make illustration difficult. Our school term is probably that decreed by the country school, the vacation period coming when farmers needed children in the fields. Our tax system, with its continued emphasis on visible personal property, is a convincing illustration of the nation's rural backgrounds. Various social institutions, such as the family and the church, show unmistakable signs of their rural origins. In general, however, the city, not the country, is the dynamic part of our industrial culture, the seat and center of inventions which transform the thought and life of all people.

Who migrates cityward? The better off or the worse off? The more or less intelligent? An answer will, of course, cut both ways; it will show effects on both the sending and receiving areas. In spite of three decades of study, sociologists are none too certain on this important point. Instead of reviewing data pro and con we shall illustrate the best of this research in a study dealing with intelligence as indicated by I.Q.'s.

HIGHER I.Q.'s TEND TO MIGRATE¹

In this study migrants and nonmigrants from the same areas were compared in terms of I.Q.'s taken before migration took place. In 1922, we obtained the intelligence scores of some 2,500 rural youth, median age 16, in 40 rural Kansas areas and, in 1935, these same youth

were located and restudied. About 70 per cent were living in places other than their original communities, and of these migrants 38 per cent had gone to cities and 32 per cent to some other rural area.

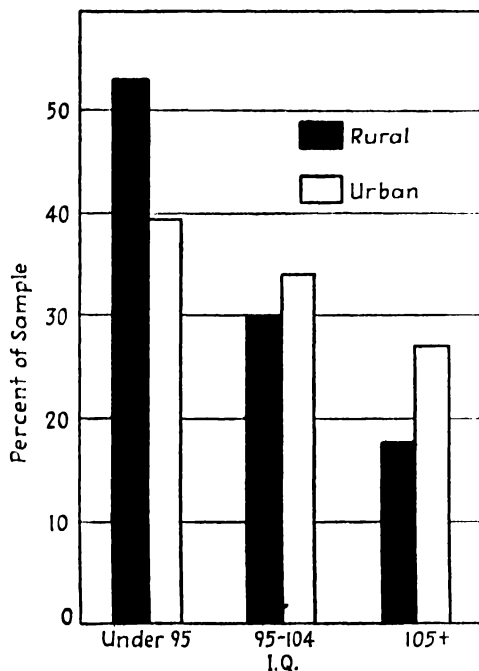


FIG. 18. I.Q.'s of rural youth who stayed at home and who migrated to cities. (Noel P. Gist and Carroll D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migrations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1938), 46. Used by permission.)

Figure 18 shows the main finding. It is the general superiority in I.Q. of the rural youth who migrate cityward. For rural stay-at-homes as a whole, the modal I.Q. falls in the range 85-94; for the urban migrants, 95-105. Over half the first had I.Q.'s below 95, as compared with two-fifths of the urban group. From I.Q. 95 and on, the latter are overrepresented. For example, 27 per cent have an I.Q. of 105 or over, as compared with 17 per cent of the rural stay-at-homes. And curiously, the larger the city,

within broad class divisions, to which the migrant went, the higher the average I.Q.

Other findings are worth citing. The superiority in I.Q. of town and village youth over the farm youth was almost as great as that of

¹ Noel P. Gist and Carroll D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migrations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1938), 36-58.

urban migrants over all nonmigrants. Differences among the forty communities, in volume of migration as well as in migrant I.Q.'s, were marked, whereas sex differences were uniformly unimportant.

What the above study seems to show is the operation of a selective process in urban migration. Migrants tend to have higher I.Q.'s than nonmigrants; thus their movement is a loss to rural areas and a gain to the cities. This was the viewpoint that E. A. Ross advanced three decades ago when he wrote about "folk depletion," the draining off of talent, ability, and physical vigor into great cities. Ross's views went much beyond the Gist and Clark inquiry, and, for present purposes, the case should rest on I.Q.'s and whatever they are believed to indicate.

The age-old process of assembling people in cities and educating them in city ways can be documented at length by any student, either from the literature or from a run of personal experiences. The reverse process, the role of urban diffusion in changing the community life of the nation, is harder to make clear. When rural areas and small towns open the big-city Pandora box of good living, what do they take out and at what price for the taking? The case given is one of a large number on record, the little town, or parish, of St. Denis, near Quebec, Canada. First settled in 1680, this French-Canadian culture "has changed more in the past forty years than in the preceding century." The very rapidity of change, a reminder of happenings in our own isolated mountain areas, makes the case a most revealing one.

ST. DENIS: BREAKDOWN AND REORDERING OF A STATIC VILLAGE CULTURE ²

The first settlements in the St. Denis parish were made about 1680, and several families have farmed the same lands for nine generations. Most of the cultural changes have come during the past one or two generations.

St. Denis is rapidly losing its folk character. Folk songs and folk tales are seldom heard; folk crafts and usages are giving way. Crafts

² Based on Horace Miner, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939.

linked most closely with the family are the last to change. Thus, flax is still flailed, wool is spun and clothes are made, and bread is baked in big outdoor ovens. Exceptions occur, for social differentiation is strongly evident. Clothes may be bought from a mail-order catalogue, farm implements from a traveling salesman, even bread from a city baker who passes through twice a week. Trade with the outside, though still not general among farm families, is increasing. It is mixed in character, with payment made in kind and money.

The chief cause of these changes is not the proximity of cities, or the inroads of their agents, or youth's search for jobs. It is not the area's rising standard of living, for a good part of the parish—day laborer families—are worse off than in earlier times. The chief cause is in the internal strains in the village culture; the old mode of life has proved unadaptable to urban industrial civilization.

The old community life was highly integrated and very stable. It was founded on a simple, self-sufficient farming economy. Needs of young and old were met by and in the family, the village, and a few age-level groupings. The family was the basic social unit, and it was dependent, in turn, on an ever-adequate supply of new land on which young people could settle. The parish provided these conditions for two centuries, and community growth was slow, certain, and satisfying to parish dwellers.

The breakdown in social life stems from a newly created land hunger. As long as fifty years ago, young men began to have trouble in finding farm sites. Having little schooling and no training for other work, they had to take land at greater and greater distances from the village. Shortly marginal lands were cultivated, and old farms were subdivided beyond the point of adequate returns. Still the parish had an annual surplus of youth, and the only outlet was cityward migration. The result is social disorganization. Unable to control the physical conditions under which it had grown and prospered, St. Denis now faces a dilemma. It must change as the world changes or chance extinction. It must integrate with an invading industrial culture that is itself weakly integrated.

Let us see how this situation operates. At present, a fairly well-off farmer can provide for his children by buying the land of some neighbor if he will sell. Or the farmer can have them learn some trade, business, or profession. But in either case, the move takes money, and this is the rub. This has been true now for two generations, and, with the answer in sight, inertia is still widespread. The only way to get capital is, of course, to raise and sell cash crops, but this runs counter

to the old use economy. It was a subsistence economy, tradition-bound and independent of the outside world.

Where the change in economic life has come, it has brought far-reaching consequences. Farm crops and farming methods have been altered; new implements have come into use. Time has taken on a different meaning, and market trends must be studied. Some farmers do well, and some do poorly; and any changes in the world outside make a big difference to their welfare. Thus the community has tended to lose its age-old independence, and with it increasingly its stability and unity.

Youth have always been the pivot points of a culture, the ensurers of its life and continuity. In St. Denis, boys aspired to farm like their fathers, girls to marry farmers, and each patterned on parental models. Now a growing number of young people know that farm ownership is impossible, that they must plan to work in cities. They value highly and learn quickly a host of urban ways, and the parish has been flooded with these alien practices. The culture is neither rural nor urban but "rurban" in many of its specifics. An electric motor may be mounted on an old-time spinning wheel. A young harmonica player of hot music will follow the old fiddler's foot-patting habit. English words, especially those dealing with machinery, business, dress, and etiquette, are heard among young people, but only French is taught in the schools. Family cleavages are pronounced. In the same home, one may find prototypes of the country rube and the city slicker.

The most basic change of all is in the old status system. Instead of a loosely organized small upper- and large middle-class grouping, a three- or four-way class order is now in the making. This can be visualized by means of a simple diagram.

In Fig. 19, *A*, the top status level, includes only those persons, such as the curé and his family, past curés, and the senator, who have been accorded great prestige. Their position is due to contacts with the outside world, not to anything done to win this status within the local community. While persons from *B*, perhaps from the top of *C*, can move into the *A* level, this can be done only in the way we have suggested, *i.e.*, by outside achievements and ratings. In earlier times, the prototype of this upper rank was made up of habitants and farmers,

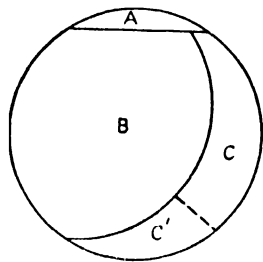


FIG. 19 St. Denis' class system (Adapted from H. Miner, *American Journal of Sociology*, 44, p. 375 Used by permission)

usually one and the same, whereas today both are generally excluded.

B grouping comprises, for the most part, farm owners and such professional men as are not in the *A* category. Prestige is a matter of wealth, family kin ties, and political prominence and is made evident mostly in marriage choices. Internal cohesion is weak, being broken by clique ties and neighborhood groupings, each including some persons from *A* and upper *C*.

In past times, *C* was a small but solid group of village tradesmen. With land shortage and its pressures, farmers' sons settled in the village and made a living at trade as best they could. Today the upper part of *C* contains *rentiers*, small merchants, skilled craftsmen, and a few day laborers. The bottom rank, *C*', holds the "honest poor," the ne'er-do-wells, the grossly irreligious, and the petty lawbreakers. It has grown in size and tends to vary with hard times.

It should not be thought that this nascent class system is so very rigid, though distances between status levels are increasing. The third class, particularly the near "outcasts" at *C*', is a new development and, in a sense, a by-product of urbanization, making it more difficult for bottom-level people to make a living. The system will no doubt change further as urban influences become more and more pervasive.

St. Denis shows with clarity the city's conquest of the country. The parish social structure, like that of the rural primary community in agricultural areas everywhere, was founded on an age-old adjustment to physical habitat. As the community grew in numbers, it could not expand landholdings fast enough to maintain its customary mode of life. Adjacent villages had experienced the same uneasy changes *in situ*, and land grabs were under way. Youth, landless and jobless, at first piled up and then drifted cityward in search of work, being prepared in mental content for migration long before they moved out. Thus village culture changed from rural to *rurban*, and the economy became linked with world markets, trends, and conditions. Class lines hardened, and a lower stratum arose. Readjustments have been mostly a confused attempt to continue old ways in a society set against them.

All of this is in the evidence; yet it is very doubtful whether the essential cause lies in the parish. St. Denis, it is apparent, was unable to change quickly enough to avoid disorganization. Its community life was frozen to the land; its traditional

mind-set was adamant. But what about the encroaching leviathan, its aggressive demands on the area? Here, perhaps, is the place for further study of the dynamics of urban industrial culture.

Big cities cannot sustain themselves. They can exist only if they are fed and their population replenished through migration. With survival at stake, urban economy works an inescapable squeeze on the countryside. It undermines rural self-sufficiency and independence by use of its treasure chest—things to eat, to wear, to have, to dream about. The city creates wants, a market for its goods, thus initiating a long and variable rural adjustment process. Land-use economy is replaced by the growing of money crops, and, if the community lags, its inner stresses become severe. Birth rates stay high; successive generations pile up, but there is little or no release to the land because its costs have become prohibitive. Cities beckon migrants to factories, stores, and offices. At the same time, they ensure their coming by pouring into village areas the output of mass production, including laborsaving machinery. The effects have already been indicated. Big cities grow, and smaller places decline. In small places, accretive change is stopped, and ways are sought to integrate the locality with leviathan. While ladders up are offered for those who can climb them, many cannot get a secure foothold on even the bottom rung.

In this reasoning, the intent is not to give an "either-or" idea of causation, much less to advance a rural bias as opposed to an urban view. Cause leads to effect; effect becomes a new cause, so that the matter of origins or even strength of influence is highly speculative. We believe that urban and rural are, and have always been, parts of the same organic whole so that separation is valid only for study purposes. While influences have run both ways, city currents have been much stronger. Cities have been dominant in our culture and smaller places adjustive, and our society seems very likely to continue in that way.

PRIMARY TO SECONDARY WAYS OF LIVING

Before going on with unity-disunity, it is well to see urbanism as the present aspect of a great historical trend from primary

to secondary ways of living. It is this continuing change that, more than any other, gives pattern to our culture and creates the social problems most in need of solution.

It is to Cooley, founder of important phases of sociological knowledge, that we are indebted for the concept of the primary group.

THE PRIMARY GROUP³

By primary group I mean those groups characterized by intimate face-to-face associations and cooperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideas of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is the fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes, is the common life of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. One lives in the feelings of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.

Primary groups, such as the family, the play group, and the small community, are primary in at least three ways. They hold priority in time, arising first in the individual's experience. They include many if not all aspects of his personality, the kinds of life-activities, described in the Middletown case. Finally, they tend to generate deep feeling responses, a warmth of thought and action that leads one to measure the worth of an idea, a cause or movement, not by what he gets out of it but by what it costs, what he puts into it.

By contrast, there are groupings of another kind, secondary groups. They come later in individual experience, embrace few aspects of a total personality, and operate on the basis of rational thought and expedient action. They develop in people the "I," the "me," and "mine," not the "we," the "us," and "ours" of one who feels completely integrated with his culture. Secondary ways of life, as illustrated in the Chicago case, make restless, seeking, searching people, people who pile problems

³ Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 23, Scribner, New York, 1919. Used by permission.

on themselves until they go down or else, to create a peace of mind, advance answers which become in time the turning points in art and science, in group life and culture. In many ways, big-city dwellers live the only way man can live in an urban habitat, a point that sentimental thinkers tend to gloss over.

If . . . the unceasing external contacts of numbers of persons in the city should be met by the same number of inner reactions as in the small town, in which one knows almost every person he meets and to each of whom he has a positive relation, one would be completely atomized internally and would fall into an unthinkable mental condition.⁴

To understand the trend under study, one must see it in time perspective. Over our nation's history, our people have been largely rural dwellers. We lived then, in large numbers, on the land, and the land was tied to town and village centers. The typical community was small, its boundaries close at hand and known, its people relatively homogeneous in race and culture. Its ways of living were stable, its institutions few and simple, its human relations intimate. To persons not reared in such an atmosphere, it will mean little to call this now disappearing primary community a *perceptual entity*. One could grasp its essence through the senses--see, hear, touch, taste, and smell its round of daily life. One knew then what to do because he knew what was expected of him.

To note that the scene has changed is to state once more a point often made in past chapters. We live today in an increasingly urban world, a nation of great size, vast resources, tremendous wealth, unbelievable technological progress, endless creature comforts, gross social inequalities, chronic insecurity. For perspective, it should be stressed that our cityward drift did not occur in any recent time, assuredly not at any war date-line or economic crisis. From 1840 onward, European sociologists have noted a similar trend toward industrialization. Le Play's six-volume work, published first in 1855, reads much like a record of current times.⁵

⁴ Georg Simmel, *Die Grossstadt*, p. 187, Dresden, Germany, 1903.

⁵ Frederick Le Play, *Les Ouvriers Européens*, 6 vols., 2d ed., 1877-1879.

Le Play was a French engineer turned social scientist. As he traveled about Europe in his work, he gathered data on what he termed "the human capacity for working together." In the steppes and coastlands, where farming and fishing were dominant, he found "a simple moral order," much family solidarity, strong kin ties, and a great amount of "willing cooperation." In larger cities, where industry and trade had begun to thrive, the level of living was notably higher; yet "the frame of life had been shaken." Kin ties were no longer binding, inclusive loyalties had yielded to "divided interests," and "the will for united action" had lost its spontaneity. People gave evidence of anomic, a concept to which some thought was given in the past chapter.

Summing up, we have as a people come of age in one milieu, the small community with its face-to-face relations. We have elected, for better or worse, to live on in a different kind of world, the large impersonal secondary community. The choice, if such it could be called, has brought benefits to people, the Pandora box discussed earlier in the chapter. It has also exacted costs, one cost being, as Le Play foresaw, a significant loss of collective unity.

THEORIES OF UNITY-DISUNITY

It might be reasoned that disunity, like the air we breathe, is all about us, that it is woven into the fabric of our life. Judging from events and writings, this is indeed the case. Whatever community disunity is, there is a great deal of it. It has no face, so to speak, no corporeal form; hence its basic nature is not easy to determine. Critical analyses of current writings will show how sociologists have approached the problem, the theories advanced to explain disunity, disorder, etc., plus at times ways of regaining integration and cohesive action.⁶

The *practical-problems approach* is, in substance, a hurried look at sore spots in national life with a view toward their elimination. As used by writers of elementary textbooks, the method is to list anything considered a social problem—old age, ill

⁶Taken in part from C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (1943), 165-180.

health, birth control, race prejudice, war, communism, so on—about which something should be done. Such “problems” *in toto* are felt to show the “breakdown” of community life, the accelerating trend toward disunity.

The *maladjusted individual*, a viewpoint widely held by sociologists, is a psychological idea of social unity-disunity. It states no theory of society, except as a vague “web of life” into which everyone must fit. One who fits in, that is, “the adjusted person,” is a good group member—not selfish, lazy, criminal, or

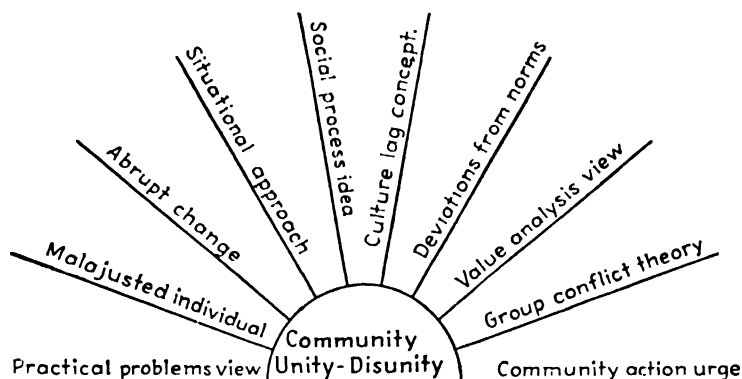


FIG. 20. Theories of community unity-disunity. (Based on C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *American Journal of Sociology*, 49 (1943), 165-180.)

the like. He is a steady worker, a churchgoer, a club joiner, a public-spirited man, an extrovert. The maladjusted person, per contra, does not or cannot join up, live well, and get ahead. He dodges around the fringes of social life, brooding over his troubles and absorbed in introvertive interests. Yet, with help, this person may “succeed” and be “happy” in a smallish kind of way. Thus this point of view has little social (as opposed to individual) content; yet it does imply a unity-disunity framework. Disunity is the failure of individuals to “live in harmony” with the forms and norms of community life, and “reunity” is a matter of effecting changes in the person, not in the society of which he is a part.

The basic thought in the third theory is that any *abrupt change*, any radical innovation in a culture is in itself disorganiz-

ing. Put another way, that community is best organized or most unified that has the least change over time. Aside from "evolutionary growth," any alteration in population, material culture, or mode of life is to be avoided. While there is truth in this view, as in other views, it does not specify the conditions under which social changes become disintegrative. Change can, in theory, be unifying after it has gathered speed and won or forced acceptance. Without change, it is hard to see how any community can live in the modern world.

In the *situational approach*, the unit is "the total situation," the person interacting with his environment. "Defining the situation," as W. I. Thomas first used the phrase, is a tentative process in which one feels out possibilities and decides as to a course of thought and action. When a community faces a crucial predicament, as did St. Denis, "redefining the situation" may extend over years. During this time of "confused and random action," the community is disorganized. Reorganization, or reunity, occurs when some "solution" wins a wide following. While all problems may not be solvable, people are united as long as they work in common toward a solution.

The above view leads directly to a *social-process conception* of social change. To Cooley,⁷ social disunity was but a phase of a larger process of "institutional growth and decay." This process has five sequential stages. "Tentative" organization, or unity of group action, arises out of felt needs and passes with time into a stage of "efficiency" in which needs are met. Next there comes a period of inefficiency, or "formalism," because institutions lose some of their initial motivation and strive chiefly to perpetuate past practices. Formalism is followed by "disorganization" in which basic service programs have lost utility and many area needs go unmet. Out of this stage of unrest and discontent, random attempts at "readjustment," or reorganization, develop, and at this point the cycle begins all over again with some new "tentative" organization.

Except for one particular, the above view has been widely adopted as an explanation of unity-disunity and change. To

⁷ Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Process* (1918), Part I; *Social Organization* (1919), Chaps. V, XI.

Cooley, the impulse toward area-wide action would arise in and flow from "the good in people," our primary-group ideals. "All the world," comments Mills,⁸ "should be an enlarged, Christian-democratic version of a rural village." Other writers have been, we believe, more realistic. They find in the social "innovator" and his arts, or more simply the leader, the instrument for creating community action and unity.

We have illustrated in the Middletown case the *culture-lag approach* to community unity-disunity. W. F. Ogburn, to whom the term is credited, held that "adaptive culture" (social ideals, moral norms, modes of action, etc.) has not kept pace with "material culture," that our tools, technologies, and machinery have run away with us, and that social problems and disunities are the consequence. "Lag" means the tendency of one part of culture, usually the immaterial part, to fall behind the material part on which it is dependent, for example, the archaic laws governing industrial uses of our natural resources. While the lag viewpoint is subjective, *i.e.*, implies values as to what should be done to direct the course of change, this does not invalidate its usefulness. In general, the focus is on our advancing technology and the problem of its control.

In the *social-norms approach*, a search is made for "standards of right action," for conduct codes that govern or seem to govern acceptable behavior. Any departure from them is "anti-social," a disruption of community unity in thought, feeling, and action. One limitation of this viewpoint is the lack of established norms. Until social science advances substantially in its coverage and precision, we shall have to guess as to what normative (average) practices actually are.

Linton's value analysis, along with Angell's conception of *group conflict*, were treated in Chap. 1. In brief, the first viewpoint regards any culture as consisting of a solid, integrated core of values, surrounded by a fluid zone of alternative views. In our society, core values have shrunk and alternatives expanded, a consequence of conceiving freedom in terms of individual rights and self-advantages. Linton's warning was that "we are rapidly approaching the point where there will no longer

⁸ Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

be enough items on which all members of society agree to provide our culture with form and pattern."

With a change in emphasis, the social problems view becomes the *community-action urge*. If people would "get together," i.e., "organize," they could cure their social ills. In general, this approach has been exhortive and at times most unreal. It has assumed that necessary facts were known, that the impulse to do good guaranteed good doing, that technical group-work skills were not needed. Within this framework, some rural writers have viewed the big city as "a cancerous growth." They have urged a return to ruralism, that is, to an intimacy of living little short of "our nuzzling one another," a condition manifestly impossible in what William James once referred to as "the big, big world."

These 10 types of theories are a fair sampling of sociological preoccupation with the problem at issue. What they show, first of all, is a deep concern for the disunity of our society, plus a strong conviction that it is increasing. Moreover, while concepts differ, it seems clear that "unity-disunity" is a situational product. It is a kind of relational system, a description of *the way parts of a whole fit together so that the whole can function with efficiency*. Disunity is, therefore, a judgment passed on the way any social system, for instance, a family, a school, a community, or society at large, seems to function, a statement of its inefficiency in terms of what are assumed to be possible and perhaps desirable courses of action.

A CONCEPTION OF COMMUNITY UNITY

In Fig. 21, we have outlined a field conception of community unity, a scheme that has come from working on school and community programs. What complicates the diagram, aside from the inherent difficulty of the problem, is that unity is pictured in two dimensions: as a *condition*, existing at a moment of time, and as a *process*, running over time and reaching far back into local history.

The figure can be read first as descriptive of a state, or condition, at a given period of time. Four kinds of area unity are identifiable and, in combination, give the community whatever

degree of cohesion it may have. There is the togetherness that comes from *general consensus*, the unquestioned acceptance of common core values. No reason is given; none is asked. Action is taken as the natural and normal thing. It is this oneness of feeling and conscience, where it still exists, that guides the general social process, the countless ways in which people

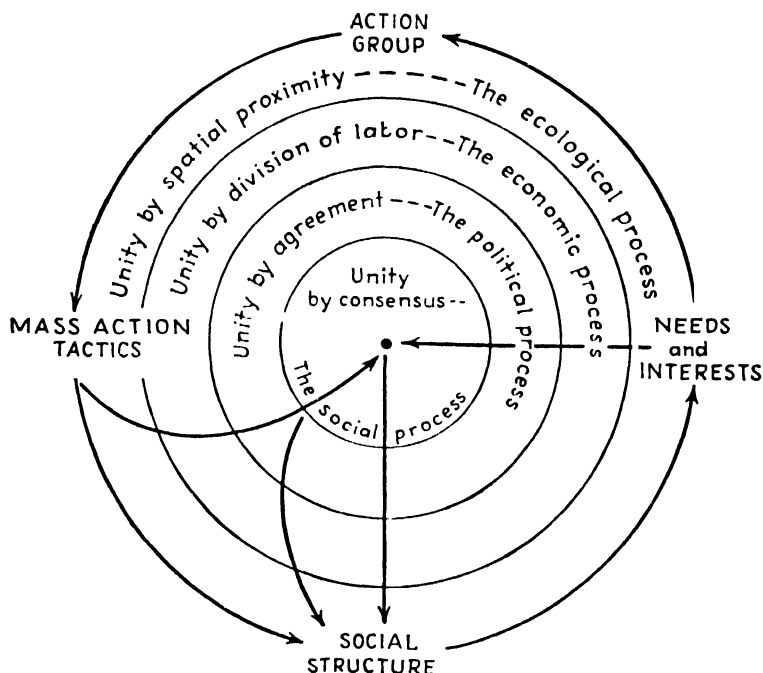


Fig. 21. Schematic conception of community unity as a condition and as a process.

go about their ordinary life-routines, their personal and public interests.

Unity by *agreement* is what most school and lay persons mean by community unity. Unlike consensus, which is taken for granted, this kind of unity is by debate. It arises from and gives content to the political process—discussion of issues, resolution of conflicts, the counting of votes. It does not rest on tradition but on majority rule, plus recognition of minority right to try to change majority views. While every decision divides the

community at the time, over time these expressions of need and right and good may come to be accepted as law, as understandings, thus in time as a common consensus. For any community of size, and notably for large places, most of the traffic rules for living, for the operation of institutions and the like have derived from the political process.

Division of labor refers to the economic process. Where this process has been personalized, as in a strike, interaction takes the form of conflict and is resolved by some political device. Mostly, however, the economic process operates below the level of citizen consciousness. It is a competitive process the function of which is to assign persons to jobs, jobs to monetary and social valuations. Unity is secured through the specialization and coordination of work tasks into a cost-price system. Every person, by reason of his labor and its products, has a place in this system, and any proposed community change will likely bring to his mind a vision of his gains and losses.

Finally, there is unity by *spatial proximity* in an ecological rather than in a conscious, social sense. By this is meant the "web of life" about which Darwin wrote, the irrational, unnoted struggle for existence in the whole organic world. Based on the principle of scarcity, as most economies are, the air one person breathes cannot be breathed by another; the sunshine he enjoys is denied his less fortunate fellows. As people live together, the unequal struggle for *lebensraum* effects a kind of order, a structuring of the situation so that hosts and parasites and others adapt themselves to one another, all without a reasoned awareness of what is going on, thus illustrating the lowest level of unity within which life can be lived.

Another way to read the diagram is in terms of process, the dynamics by which organized community action takes place. Impulses, arising in individual need, can travel either of two roads. If these semiarticulate aspirations, these frustrations and striving are accepted by spokesmen of the community as a proper basis of action, needs go directly into the area marked consensus, after which they move on to social structures and appear as programs, for example, a general health examination for all the children in school. In a specific community we have in

mind, no one opposed a change, once the need was made evident, and both private and public agencies joined up to set up a health program for school-age children.

By reason of the disunity in which we live, it is more likely that needs will travel the outer rim of the circle. Here we have simply set the political process in motion, as indicated by the heavy lines. Ideas of, say, some underprivileged group are met at first with indifference and mild opposition. As this group grows in size, it organizes to battle for its special interests, to convince a lethargic public of the rightness of its cause. Other special interest groups arise in opposition, and mass-action tactics come into play. If, when votes are counted, the first group has won, the decision is referred to some existing social structure, for instance, the courts, the school, or social agencies, for its fulfillment or enforcement.

Unity in a process sense is, in final analysis, the assent of all that issues will be settled by democratic action. It is government by consent, and the organization of consent is the prime task of leadership. Any concrete idea, any plan of action, will travel a more devious route than the diagram suggests, a situation to be studied when cases can be given.

COMMUNITY PLANNING

We hear much today about "grass-root democracy," a "do democracy" of the common people, and all we hear is worth careful listening. It is worth hearing because, in a sociological sense, the opposite of bigness is not smallness. It is *active, intelligent, persistent participation*. Little people need a big nation, even as a big nation needs them, and neither could function without the other; hence any realistic planning cannot be confined to small numbers. Put in other words, it must take account of top levels, of impersonal relations, of modern scientific and technical ways of organizing large spatial areas.

If the Second World War taught any indispensable lesson, it was the value of top-to-bottom coordination in attacks on every kind of resource-use problem. At the bottom is initiative, individual concern, and final action; at the top, over-all vision, efficiency, and structural coordination. The need, to repeat, is

for effective cooperation, the best brains, and the most concern that can be brought to bear on solving human problems.

NEED FOR A REVIEW

We have written this Part of the volume in a growing faith that educators want some better way of making community studies than many of them now know and use. For example, in questionnaire answers to what is studied when their classes study community, school and college teachers commonly say: "Well, I'm interested in population, or institutions, or the like"; or else "We study everything about the community," a manifestly impossible task. In these chapters, from Colvin Hollow through Plainville, Yankee City, Middletown, Chicago, and St. Denis—if the latter case can be taken to represent unity-disunity problems—we have advanced systematic plans of community study. Any one holds, in our judgment, a good many advantages over a fragmental, haphazard approach.

How shall a classroom group review the material covered, the concepts, the study techniques, the general findings as to communal modes of life? As our own classes have considered this problem, they have decided on quite different approaches. One plan has been to assign chapters to study groups, with each group responsible for a class report. Another plan has been to consider what happens to an imaginary community as it grows in size, what changes occur in every aspect of its life. A third type of review centers on the outline for community study given in Chap. 3, with student groups pursuing one topic through all the concrete cases. The two imperatives of any good plan would appear to be that students help devise it, hence see its rationale, and that it involve some reorganization of chapter material, some thinking things through as learners see them.

Problems and Projects

1. Run a quick check on a statement made in the chapter, namely, that a study of local and metropolitan newspapers will yield much evidence on the disunity of contemporary life.

2. What happens to a small community when it becomes urbanized? Who migrates cityward and why? What changes take place in the

structure of local life? In interpersonal contacts? In social institutions? In schools?

3. Do you think our trend from primary to secondary ways of living is an adequate framework, or point of reference, from which to explain most of our current social problems? Give reasons for your answer

4. What do you now understand by the unity-disunity of American community life? Which one of the theories of unity-disunity seems best to you, that is, covers most of the facts as you know them?

5. If "smallness" is not the opposite of "bigness," in a sociological sense, what is its opposite? How, if ever, can it be secured in big-city life? Be specific in your answer.

6. Most theories of social action and community planning are based on cooperation. Make a report to class on the "conflict viewpoint" as developed by Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (1945), and state your own reactions to this point of view.

7. "I think the rampant individualists were right," said one student, "and what we need is more freedom to do what we want to do." Do you also hold this viewpoint? Explain your answer.

8. Can crime be taken as an index of community disunity? Make a class report on E. H. Sutherland *White Collar Crime* (Dryden Press, New York, 1949) in which you relate the criminal and near-criminal acts of corporations to our national ideals of fair competition.

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PART III
COMMUNITY, CHILD, AND SCHOOL

CHAPTER 9

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Most persons have heard some story of the magician and his parrot. In one version, the two were crossing the ocean when the ship was blown up. Landing in the water, the parrot on his shoulder, the man was surprised to hear the bird's raucous voice: "Come, sir, come on, now. Where in 'ell is that boat?" From now on, we shall be searching for the boat, our boat being the kind of education discussed in Chap. 1.

Any search that is real can be counted upon to be difficult; yet we have some rules to guide us. Since social behavior is learned behavior, the importance of education in society can be taken for granted. It is, on the one hand, the way a society "renews" itself, continues its cultural heritage. On the other hand, it is the way persons develop into full-fledged members of the society. Schooling is a kind of education, more formal, more systematic than that outside. In either case, a great deal of learning occurs in social groups. Here, then, is our basic interest, the kind of learning wherever it takes place that is group-conditioned in both form and content.

We know that schools are part of the culture they would transmit, that like any other institution they are subject to its controls. And yet, they are ever sorting and sifting its elements, ever redefining their functions, thus attempting both to pass on and to remake the nation's mode of life. Much of this story can be gleaned from a simple inquiry into the several ways that schools relate themselves to their environing community, their conception of functions in respect to local culture. To add that schools are different is to state a commonplace fact. We shall not make an exhaustive canvass of these differences but rather use them as a point of departure to study in successive chapters

the kind of schooling most closely related to the realities of everyday community life.

HOW SCHOOLS RELATE THEMSELVES TO COMMUNITIES

While schools have always been an organic part of community life, some schools act as if there were no such thing as a community, a "living togetherness" in which and for which they exist. Were they to disappear overnight, there would be of course no place to send children. Aside from this, such schools would scarcely be missed. Their relation to their community is one of isolation. The *isolated school*, as we have observed it in field work, may be a one-room country school or an entire urban school system. Its community contacts are largely rear-guard combat actions, an attempt to keep local people from interfering in any way with the conduct of the school. Its general miseducative effects are well known.

ART EDUCATION IN AN ISOLATED SCHOOL¹

In speaking to you on the role of art in schools of various kinds, I am much aware of my own limitations. I am, as it were, a perfect example of what not to do in art education, an authentic artistic misfit.

I am the product of copybook lessons as taught years ago in any Indiana village school, art taught for art's sake—whatever that may mean, rather than for living. I cannot draw or paint or model or carve. I cannot make any kind of music, act any character other than my own, even speak or write with the effectiveness linked with the arts. In practical, household arts, I can do little or nothing that would merit your praise—the mending of a leaky faucet, building shelves in an overstuffed closet, simple repair work on any bit of mechanical gadgetry about the house.

In part at least, my schools are responsible. At no time in my schooling, to the best of my recollections, did any teacher attempt to develop whatever creative talent I may have brought to her. On the contrary, my curiosity—the natural curiosity of any child—must have been deadened, perhaps stylized in the copybook sense. At any rate, I recall now that I got into less trouble as school years passed, for I

¹ Lloyd Allen Cook, "Art Education in the Community School," *Western Arts Association Bulletin*, 25 (1940), 39-46.

poked around a great deal less, trying out this and that. What little "style" I have ever learned—how to hold a pen for proper writing, to view some great painting, to appreciate fine music, to catch a trout or bass—I seem to have learned in adult years for myself.

Maybe I had better make this point within a more general context. Children in my hometown took to the river like proverbial ducks, yet we never learned to swim. We dog-paddled to be sure, and we jumped in head first and called it diving, but it was not until I got to college that I saw expertness in these lines. We loved to fish, in fact there must be an instinct for fishing in all country boys, but we never really learned how. The point is that no one in the school, in fact no one, sought to lift the low level of operational skills so prevalent in my community, so obvious today wherever one may look. *Art cannot exist in isolation from a people's life.*

Another type of school is what we have called *the open-door school*, the school that invites the community to come in, to "cooperate," as its invitation is ordinarily phrased. What this means is well-known to anyone who has experienced this type of school and community relation. It means that the school has a project, a plan, or a purpose on which it requires community help. It specifies the nature of that help, the amount needed, and the way it is to be given. Thus, it asks people to do things who have had no share in planning the things to be done, hence are little motivated, hence are fairly indifferent to work tasks. Often, the open door is not so open when policy ideas are advanced, when novel proposals are superimposed on set school purposes.

A third type of school can be called an *expedient school* in its community relations, a school quick to seize upon any sentiment, any big noise, that gets going provided that it has the backing of power elements in the community. It will take up or put down almost any project with great ease, waxing hot and growing cold, as the wind blows. It keeps in style, educationally speaking, and it keeps in touch with community interests, because it has no organic wholeness of its own, no sense of direction which dictates its next moves. It is, as its curriculum will show, an accretive structure, an unintegrated hodgepodge of conflicting ideals and practices, more so than its own faculty may know. It

will have a forceful administration, for otherwise its purposelessness would bog it down.

Other kinds of schools exist, notably schools of the *partnership type*. Here school and community relations run along the channels described in Chap. 1. Schooling is a joint enterprise, in policy making as well as otherwise, with school officials assuming such leadership as their greater responsibility, their training and knowledge entitle them to take. An example will give meaning to this view.

PARTNERS IN PRODUCTION: A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Beyond doubt, the best examples of organic school and community relations come from rural areas, often from impoverished places such as the case we shall present. There are, to be certain, reasons for this, reasons which we shall discuss. If the Shady Cove case is read with underlying principles in mind, with a feel for the human and material needs which the teacher sought to meet, it will do much toward recreating the point of view advanced earlier as to what schools should be and do.

A TEACHER-LEADER IN SHADY COVE²

I accepted the position in the foothills against my family's wishes. They were horrified over the prospect of my teaching there. Living in the county seat, we had heard much about Shady Cove. "Dead snake in the water bucket"; "broke out all the winders with rocks"; "whooped the teacher right in the classroom," and so on. Not a very pleasing outlook for a young woman to face.

Perhaps I should describe our county. The western two thirds is a tangled mountain mass. Along the eastern base of the mountains runs the main automobile road, and towns are strung on it like beads on a string. The county seat has a population of over 2,000 and is the largest town in the valley. My home village is down the road a few miles below the county seat. The Flint River touches the county at its eastern edge, and between the river and the mountains is Shady Cove. The Cove is a coal-built village, and on below it are other coal camps. When I first went to the Cove, the mines were working four days a week. Last year many were shut down and the rest

² Adapted from Alvin F. Harlow, *Schoolhouse in the Foothills*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1936. Used by permission.

worked only a day or so a week, and the situation has become but little better with the passing of time.

On the morning when my school was to open I arose shortly after dawn. I got through breakfast and started my 2½ mile hike to school. On the way I rehearsed my opening speeches. . . . I tried to guess at my reception and each guess proved wrong.

I had timed my arrival for seven o'clock, expecting to be the first one there, but in this I was wrong. Under the trees and over the hill-side, many people were scattered. Bony horses and mangy dogs, men whittling or talking, women carrying babies and herding small children, older children watching me with eager eyes—this is the picture I remember.

I knew none of these people but many knew about me. My father's long tenure as mill foreman, our cottage with its trim lawn and flower beds, its modern conveniences—such as a bathtub in which, so it was rumored, we bathed each day—were regarded as evidences of affluence far beyond the reach of the Cove. Furthermore, my years at college made me a prodigy of learning, and my few visits North a world traveler. Many of the hill people had never been more than a few miles from home in their whole lives.

The schoolhouse was the worst of the picture. Every pane of glass was broken, a form of vandalism I did not then understand. Its interior beggars description. Benches and desks were battered, carved, and broken. The floor was covered with glass, stones, sticks, and leaves. Everything was blanketed with dust. I wished I had brought my own broom—this, with a box of chalk, being the regular issue for a country school at that time. I did manage to clean up the worst of the litter and heave it outside. Without the faintest notion as to time, I rang the bell.

Slowly the crowd filed in, men pulling off their hats and turning to the left, women drifting toward the right, and children crowding benches, desks, and window sills. A strong scent of sweaty bodies filled the air. . . .

As she entered, a kindly woman whispered to me, "Brother Flat-head thar is a preacher if'n you want any prayin' done." I had already decided to do this myself; in truth, had planned a little prayer. I stood on the rostrum and asked the children what song they knew. No one answered. They just sat there, staring at me, stiff with fright. Again I asked for a song, including both elders and children in my invitation. No voice replied. "Oh, if I could only unlock these shut-up souls," I thought, "and let them move about with freedom,

what an achievement it would be." At last I said, "If no one knows a song, I'll try to sing one for you. Later we can all learn to sing together." I knew they sang in church, but singing in school and under a woman's tutelage was something else again. At this juncture the preacher made bold to ask, "Do you know Ameriky? 'Pears like that's a mighty good school song." We agreed that it was, and thereupon I sang it as a solo, for no one, not even the preacher, joined in to help me.

After this I read a chapter in Proverbs fit for the occasion and then said, "Let us pray." The preacher, feeling himself the one person in the room qualified to address God directly, cleared his throat to begin, but I beat him to it. I knew, of course, what a radical thing this was, having lived all my life among such country people. But I had things to say to that earthly audience, as well as to the Most High. In my prayer, I put a share of my success or failure with the school on the parents. I asked that we all be given a willing spirit so that we might labor together for the good of the children and the betterment of the community. When I ended there were a few scattered "amens" from the men's side; but when I opened my eyes there was the same intense stare. I don't believe a soul in that group had bowed his head or closed his eyes. Probably no one thought it was a legitimate prayer anyway, being offered in public by a woman.

"Now if you will let me talk," I said, "I will tell you something of my plans and then I would like to know what you think of them." What I said then has long since slipped away; I recall only what I had intended to say. In my stumbling way, I set forth the belief that the school exists to serve the community, that a teacher's work must be to meet the real needs of real people, older folks as well as children. The teacher must know her people and they must know her; all are partners in the many-sided thing called education. My thought, even on that first day, was to make the school a center of community life and betterment. . . . I told them that I didn't expect to fight my way through school, in fact I couldn't, that if trouble arose I would expect the help of every child and every parent in handling it. I wanted a school ruled by kindness and fair play. After this, I asked for comments.

Another long, dead silence. At last the preacher stepped into the breach with a long speech about nothing in particular; after which another silence. I called upon two or three men who opined that "school was a good thing fur the kids" and they hoped I would succeed. Finally a woman arose from a window sill, a pioneer if ever there was

one. "I don't know how to talk in public," she said, "fur I ain't never done it before. But I jist want to say that my young'uns allus has trouble with the teacher, and she is allus a-beatin' on 'em. But I reckon the trouble is we jist ain't never had one that knowed nothin'. 'Pears like you air a-startin' off different. My young'uns is mean and you'll have to whoop 'em, but you're welcome to hit. Tain't that we don't want 'em learnt. Tain't that we won't back ye up, nuther."

Presently dismissing the elders, I started enrolling the children. They ranged in age from six to sixteen, and were almost all barefooted. The boys wore hickory shirts and blue overalls, the girls faded and patched cotton gowns. One upstanding lad said he came from the "fightin' Gowell's," and his tone of voice left the impression that nothing need be added. I gave the pupils book lists but soon found what I should have known, namely, that their parents were too poor to buy books. Many families could not buy even paper and pencil. Last winter I taught geography out of a mail-order catalogue, history out of the community's own past, and health out of my own knowledge concerning human needs. Many a lesson has been brought in from our homes, mines, fields, stores, and surroundings. . . . Using "community resources" has never been a problem for there are no other resources to use.

At the start I had 38 pupils enrolled and a regular showing of far less. I knew there were many others who ought to be in school, so I went out after them. It was hard at first. "Aw, he's ist in the primer" and "she never got furdern the first reader," were common remarks made about the 'teen age boys and girls and adult illiterates whom I brought to school. But I canvassed the community like a candidate running for office. I helped mothers tend babies, talked with men at work, broke into any kind of meeting I could find. At the end of my first month I had 70 pupils. By state law this entitles a school to two teachers and I obtained an assistant.

Our school continued to grow—its reputation traveling along the community grapevine route. . . . It was becoming more and more difficult to hold all our classes in one room. At the end of three months, I visited the county superintendent. When told that we now had 110 pupils in attendance, he was unable to believe me. He said he would come down and "look us over." When he arrived the assistant teacher was in charge of the one room and I had a class a la Mark Hopkins out in the yard. "Where in the world did they all come from?" he asked. A sixth grader, misunderstanding his question, replied: "Some of us come from Doc Redner, but mostly we just come."

That first year we expanded into the Hardshell Baptist Church, only a few steps away. By the end of the next year, our log school had been transformed into a neat three-room frame building, a structure that was the pride and joy of the entire community. Between two of its rooms were folding doors, so that we could make an auditorium for school plays and other programs. The story of that campaign, of the help and devotion of these people, would fill a modest volume. . . . Last year, the enrollment was 158, over four times what it was when I started teaching at the Cove.

As I settled into teaching, my thought flowed out more and more into community affairs. When I came to the Cove, leisure pursuits were few and far between—prayer meetings, baptisms, a dance now and then, and neighborly visiting. By desperate efforts, I secured play equipment for the boys; a bat and ball, marbles, and other things. I got permission to use a level meadow across the creek, and soon adults were playing with us. More recently we bought a basketball and nets, and the game has swept over the Cove like wildfire. How I worked to get a rattlebox piano! It has proved to be the most educative piece of apparatus we possess, for it gives pinched little souls a taste of melody and rhythm.

As time went on, the school became a genuine center of community life. At present we have mothers' meetings once a month where we talk cooking, canning, housekeeping, and care of children. Our studies of diet have done much toward reducing pellagra. . . . Our fathers' meetings are not well attended, and it is here that I have scored one of my biggest failures. When people were needy and outside help was hard to get, children began to drop out of school. It was then that I ventured to discuss the limitation of families. The men simply were not interested, and women themselves seemed indifferent. When I told my mother, she exclaimed: "Well, I never heard the likes of that. I think you were, well, real bold!"

On the whole, my hardest struggle has been to popularize modern medicine. . . . I had known all along that there were many bad tonsils among the children, and when county relief started to function I sought help. Two doctors were sent to examine our pupils. Twenty-three needed immediate operations. Try as hard as I could, the best that I could do was to get the fifteen most needy cases cared for. Since there was no hospital, I took a vacant upper floor over the Cove's main store and, with the help of volunteer workers, made it as usable as possible. We got the loan of ten cots, and the rest of our patients lay on the floor. On the morning of the operations, I drove fifteen

miles to persuade a college classmate, a trained nurse, to come and help us. We had our troubles that day. . . .

After the worst of the strain, I went to our leading merchant. "Mr. Brumley," I said, "you know what is going on upstairs over there. If your child was there, where would you be?" "I would be at his bedside," was his instant reply. "Exactly," I said; "now all day long, back at the schoolhouse, fathers and mothers have been waiting for news. Don't you think we could take our cars and bring them here?" He agreed and we got started. . . . All the kiddies came through fine and medical science is stronger today than ever before.

The case speaks so well for itself that it is hard to speak about it except in appreciation. Throughout her years in the Cove, the teacher plays down the hardships she faced, the human and other barriers to good teaching. Her unswerving faith in herself and in people, her resourcefulness and initiative, the dreams she must have had remind us, somehow, of Willy Loman, the aging traveling salesman, in a current Broadway hit play. Willy, in despair, has taken his life, and the family has gathered about his grave. A friend is speaking:³

Willy was a salesman, and for a salesman there is no rock bottom to life. He don't put a bolt to a nut, he don't tell you the law, or give you medicine. He's a man out there in the blue, riding on a smile and a shoeshine. . . . A salesman is got to dream; it comes with the territory.

To be certain, Shady Cove is not Chicago, or Middletown, or a student's home town, wherever that may be. Where living levels are so low, any simple action by a teacher, for example, the work on tonsils, takes on the character of a spectacular humanitarian event. Our concern in the case is not with the specifics of the situation but rather with the school's general point of view, its effective partnership with the community in meeting area needs. This viewpoint is, we believe, readily transferable to schools in almost any place, although its implementation will take forms quite different from those found in the Cove.

³ Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman*. Book of the play published by Viking, New York, 1949. Used by permission.

TYPES OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

From a general viewpoint, every modern school is obliged to relate itself to its environing area in at least 10 important ways. Mostly, these relationships are interactive contacts, where good teachers both teach and learn, influence and are influenced by the community. In diagrammatic form, these relations are as follows:

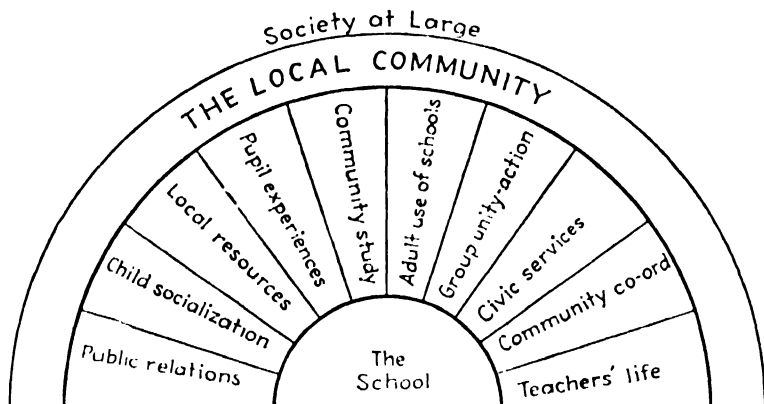


FIG. 22. Ways in which the school relates itself to its local community.

Public relations comprise the sum of contacts between the school's personnel and its various publics—its parents, taxpayers, special-interest groups, child-care agencies, news readers, ethnic minorities, and so on. By the very nature of education in this country, all school personnel—children, teachers, custodians, as well as the administrative staff—have a public-relations function, a viewpoint that is slow to win acceptance by the schools themselves.

Child socialization is simply the growth process, all the things that happen to young people, for they all concern the school, often setting its toughest problems.

Community resources comprise all the material elements, the human beings, and cultural traditions environing the school. Resources do not become resources unless so defined in school purposes, so that schools will utilize different aspects of their environmental potentials, depending on their educational aims.

Direct pupil participation in community life needs no comment except to say that there are problems in its effective management. *Formal study* is viewed as different from school trips, agency visits, etc., a phase of community use in which teachers require much technical help.

Adult uses of the school are extremely varied and, in present theory, should be encouraged as long as costs and services do not limit the experiences of school-age children, for their education should come first. *Educating for group action* is central in modern educational sociology, the core around which much of its thought revolves. While *school services* and *community coordination* take different forms, both imply a broad conception of the educational job, a cooperative relationship with all the child-shaping, character-building forces in an area. In the *teacher's social life*, attention shifts from the school to the community conditions under which teachers live and work, an area of study basic to teacher success, mental health, and the satisfactions that keep good teachers at their work.

SMALL-TOWN AND BIG-CITY ENVIRONMENTS

Shady Cove was small, numbering only a few hundred people. While we have been unable to observe any exact relation between community size and type of schooling, our strong impression is that most area-centered, life-related schools are found in small places. Put otherwise, big cities are hostile to community schooling, so hostile as to constitute the nation's number one mass educational problem. Exceptions exist in every geographic region, for example, Wells High in Chicago and Franklin High in New York City. Such schools show what can be done to adapt schooling to area needs, even within rigid city school systems.

Worst of all big-city schools are slum-area schools, the schools in congested downtown districts and impoverished rim settlements. Here, where functional learning is most needed, it is least evident. Schools are bad, unbelievably bad. Poorly housed, poorly staffed, overcrowded, unrelated to daily living, authoritarian in the extreme, disliked by children, parents and teachers, it is a wonder that these social anachronisms continue

to exist. Other institutions, which may in time replace them, are already performing many useful area services, as seen, for example, in settlement houses, youth centers, trade schools, boys' clubs, adult education, nursery and child-care units, public-park programs, labor-union and church-related activities, and area coordinating councils.

SOCIAL PRESSURES ON THE SCHOOLS

To ask why big cities are so unfavorable to life-centered learning, so resistant to change, so deep-set in traditional line-and-staff patterns, is to raise questions that have no simple explanation. To answer fully would involve all that is known about the metropolitan community, the play of social forces on the school, school promotional policies, teacher security problems, and the like. In line with chapter aims, one point needs present emphasis, the bearings of the *community power system* on schooling. Chicago schools have improved since Counts's study; yet the situation he described contains generic elements which do not readily change.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL⁴

In any great city, the schools are the city's largest public enterprise. Their number runs into several hundred, they enroll a half-million or more pupils, give work to several thousand teachers, and cost a hundred million or more dollars a year. In Chicago, as elsewhere in the nation, school control is vested in a board of education, appointed in Chicago by the mayor and approved by the council. In theory, board members are outstanding citizens and representative of the entire city. They appoint the superintendent (in other places he may be elected), control his tenure, administer school funds, formulate policies, and pass upon promotions, curricula, and changes.

In Chicago, the board has been the storm center of the school system. Its members have not always had the qualifications which they should have had, and in time all the special interests seeking entree to the schools have contacted them. The past twenty years are replete with petitions, demands, threats, and offers from honest persons and cranks, grafters and special pleaders, civic groups, labor unions, reli-

⁴George S. Counts, *School and Society in Chicago*, Harcourt, Brace, New York, 1928.

gious bodies, newspapers, real estate agents, political bosses, and commercial interests. Considering all things, the wonder is that conflict, confusion, and mismanagement have been no greater than they have been.

During the years surveyed by Counts, 120 persons have been board members, with an average tenure of three years. Of these persons, only 19 were women. In age, members ranged from 35 to 55 years, with a median of 47 years. In occupation they came almost wholly from the upper business and professional levels—lawyer, doctor, merchant, banker, etc. Only one member came from the manual-labor level. About three-fifths had attended college. In ethnic make-up, they were predominantly native white. Half were Republicans and 40 per cent Democrats. In religion, board members have been largely Protestant.

Being the executive of the board, the superintendent is charged with the administration of the school system as a whole. His staff consists of executive assistants, divisions, departments, bureaus, etc., and their heads. School principals number several hundred, teachers and supervisors several thousand. To complete the listing of intraschool sources of power, a half million pupils should be named, plus the huge custodial staff. Each grouping has a voice in school control and at times has exerted weighty influence toward shaping board policy. If public education were guided solely by elements inside the school system, the problem of coordination would be complex. There is, however, another side of the picture, one that is difficult to describe, much less to comprehend.

Of the many extra-school forces shaping public education, none exceeds in importance the great commercial interests. In Chicago, the most powerful of these bodies is said to be the Chamber of Commerce. Its membership includes the leading business, commercial, and professional persons of the city. Like other vested interests, it has never been willing to delegate school control to schoolmen. In general, its concern for education has been that of any conservative, tax-conscious, self-perpetuating group.

The Chicago Chamber of Commerce is reported to have had three special interests in the public schools. One was vocational education, another an insistence on the mastery of basic skills, and a third the reduction of school costs. To further these ends, it is said to have organized voters, lobbied for or against bills, and made contacts with board members. Of equal importance has been its direct access to the schools. Hundreds of speakers have been sent in for addresses; con-

ferences have been held with pupils, trips conducted to industries, contests sponsored, prizes awarded, clubs founded, pupil essays published, and teachers and principles invited to luncheon and to other meetings.

The chamber's natural opposite is the Federation of Labor. Its membership, well over 100,000, is not without great power. As a self-appointed guardian of the public weal, its leaders have always kept watchful eyes on the public schools. Separate vocational schools, junior high schools, and intelligence tests have been the subjects of bitter attack and debate. For example, intelligence tests were opposed as undemocratic. The feeling was that they would segregate children into upper and lower mental levels, with the latter socially stigmatized. The federation is said to have organized public opinion against the schools and to have brought pressure on the board and the superintendent.

Women's clubs have always shown a spirited interest in the schools. Founded to consider the "live issues" of the times, the Chicago Women's Club has served the schools in many ways. It has sponsored kindergartens, vocational schools, penny lunches, and compulsory education. Because of its selective membership, its socioeconomic views have been conservative. The Women's City Club, drawing members from all classes, is a political-action group. Although it opposed teachers' councils, it has fought on the side of the teachers on many issues. When schoolboard members were brought before the grand jury on charge of conspiracy to defraud the people, it took an active part in airing the situation.

Organized religion is another element that shapes the course of public schooling. With one exception, no Protestant group has sought to establish its own schools, but all have sought to supplement public instruction. Church leaders have petitioned the board and sought to influence the superintendent. Hi-Y clubs, sponsored by the Y.M.C.A., have been set up in many high schools and serve as centers of Protestant effort. Catholics have contended for a separate system of parochial schools, and in 1926 these schools enrolled 150,000 pupils. The Jews have followed a policy of establishing supplementary schools for religious instruction.

On the basis of religious differences, a vast structure of myth and legend has been reared. Hot winds of sectarian conflict, of fear and bigotry, plot and counterplot sweep over the city and through the schools. Rumors of Vatican dominance, of favors asked and favors granted, of teacher reward and persecution are common. Each

church group, had it the power, would reshape schooling in its own ways.

The politician's hold upon the schools is rooted in the fact that educational policies are made election issues. Candidates take office believing they are commissioned by "the people" to make the changes which they have advocated. With the board of education appointed by the mayor on approval of the council, the mayor has a fairly free hand. Repeatedly the schools have been made a part of the city spoils system and looted by racketeers and grafters. McAndrews's dismissal as superintendent, an aspect of Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson's "America First" campaign, illustrates the grip of party politics on the schools.

Last of the forces studied by Counts was the press. Newspapers are the mirrors through which the common man watches the conduct of the schools. A survey of Chicago's six largest dailies for a single month revealed 2,575 articles on education. Printed to get itself read, the press sensationalizes school affairs as it does other things. Furthermore, each paper has an "educational policy," a point of view for advocating or opposing school changes and, to an unknown extent, for selecting and editing the flow of news. Like other interests, newspapers function as pressure groups in shaping education. The *Chicago Tribune*, for example, has never hesitated to set itself against educational specialists on any question at issue.

Counts's study, while old, is classic and, for some reason, has not been duplicated for any large place. It does not offer a full listing of forces shaping education, nor does it attempt exact appraisal. It shows what every teacher should know, and know well, that schools are not "free" institutions in any realistic sense. They are, like other institutions, wedged into the fabric of local life, the push and pull of power interests seeking to control what is taught to young people. Graft and mismanagement, anything that savors of unfair dealing, if such exist, are matters for legal action, but even here an alerted school group and an informed public are not without power.

THE BATTLE OF THE POTATO CHIPS ⁵

Some people say this story begins years ago . . . but we shall not carry it beyond recent epic events. . . . For some time then, Mrs. O

⁵ Adapted from an article in *The Detroit Teacher* (January 17, 1949), p. 7.

had been undisputed victor in the long-standing potato-chip feud. Packaged chips had been absent from school lunchrooms since that day, years ago, when Mrs. O, a schoolboard member, had visited the manufacturing place of the lowest bidder for a school contract and found the potatoes "rotting and of unspeakable odor."

Three years ago, battle lines were redrawn. Faced with a huge operating loss in school lunchrooms, a board member was led to move that "potato chips be restored." Mrs. O countered strongly, but the round went to her opponent. Chips were removed from the black list and a contract let to a supply company. The deficit of \$80,000 materialized, but chips were lost sight of by the board in its three-million-dollar lunchroom business. Came another year, the price of lunches was raised, at the same time the deficit vanished, and all was serene on the potato-chip front.

This brings us to September, 1948. The potato-chip contract, up as usual in July, had been let to a different products company. Suddenly, things began to happen. Intermediate school principals found in the notes distributed at their opening meeting a list of schools that had not ordered chips. Then came a note telling them that chips must be ordered. Next was an inquiry asking how many chips had been bought in September, and they began to receive calls from the supply company, asking why they had not sold more chips. More notes and oral directives followed, until at last the principals felt that enough was enough.

Fourteen of the 18 principals signed a petition requesting, respectfully, that "the sale of packaged potato chips in the schools be discontinued or made optional." "It is difficult," the petition said, "to prevent children from carrying these packages from the lunchroom to classrooms where they interfere with work. Children eat them, pass them around, crinkle packages, and scatter scraps which attract cockroaches, mice and other vermin. Since packaged chips are an expensive form of food, and in this form not necessary for a nutritive lunch for children, we do not think your teaching personnel, already overburdened, should be inflicted with these additional disciplinary duties."

In his letter transmitting this petition to the superintendent of schools, a principal said: "This semester, for some reason, someone has taken an interest in putting on the pressure to make us sell more and more of these things. These principals, as you know, take great pride in their schools. If they and the teachers oppose the sale of packaged chips there must be some compelling and honest reason behind their opposition."

Shortly, there came a terse reply, signed by an assistant superintendent. The principals were referred to board minutes over two years and told that "in view of the express position taken by the board, it is not thought desirable at this time to reopen this question."

So there the matter rests. A mess that somebody had better clean up!

We have no interest in potato chips or in the details of this controversy. The point to be made is that every school, every school system, exists in relation to a larger *power system*, a complex chiefly of industrial-commercial interests which, *in toto*, exercise control in the community. Freedom to educate, to plan, to change must always reckon with these forces, an obvious point unworthy of stress were it not so habitually ignored or underestimated. Teachers and school heads run counter to power interests so often and at times in such unsuspecting ways as to make brief illustration difficult.

A LITTLE MORE, LITTLE BETTER, PLANNING

At a school deep in the heart of an urban slum area, a group of third graders was busily examining a Guernsey cow and calf. These children had never before seen such animals. They were having the time of their life, patting, pulling, poking about, although nothing happened: no milk came. In memory of a childhood spent on the farm, the visitor at the teacher's invitation took a hand, in fact tried to teach the fine art of milking but with no success.

Inside their classroom, on tables, desk, and blackboard, there was a pretty lesson on "Our Farm, Its Animals and Things." Wheat and corn were growing side by side, elephants were teamed with horses to pull wagons, and a lonely little tractor sat off to itself, unnoted and unused. Whatever mixups the children had made, they were having grand fun about the whole business. It was easy and natural to praise the project as a novel bit of work in realistic teaching.

It is, perhaps, the aftermath of this school visit which has brought the case to mind. No sooner had the visitor left the city and arrived home than he had an urgent request for help from the third-grade teacher. In her letter, she noted that the professor had been kind enough to praise the teaching he had observed. Now, that she seemed to be in serious trouble, would he be willing to help out?

An outsider can always laugh at such nonsense, to be sure, but the same is not true for a teacher who is on the spot. One dairy, which

had not been invited to furnish a cow and calf, had protested to the schoolboard about the publicity given the dairy which "had the inside track," implying that a "deal" had been made. On request to explain her action, the teacher admitted that a little more and a little better planning with all city dairies might have given her a firmer ground on which to stand.

To lose in a battle to educate children, assuming good sense and good tactics, should be considered a gilt-edged recommendation for any self-respecting school person, but this is not the moral that the case teaches. The incident shows extreme naïveté, a pathetic unawareness of what commercial interests can make out of the best of intentions. It shows, in all kindness to the teacher, the need for a little more and little better planning, a mistake which school personnel cannot afford to make. Trouble could have been prevented by working out in advance some fair-play standard in which all dairies could have shared, for instance, drawing from a hat the names of all companies that would transport a cow or cow and calf to the school for demonstration (and legitimate advertising) uses.

VIEWPOINTS TOWARD POWER AND ITS USES

In small places, as the village sociogram in Chap. 6 may have suggested, the local power structure is readily apparent. It takes on a personal form—the leading merchant, a big landowner, a prominent physician, a newspaper editor, the "lady bountiful." Often too, though not uniformly, it is represented by the officeholders in the community. Whatever the situation, the first problem is to identify power elements, a task that is difficult for school people. Other problems follow, chiefly what to do, or how to work, with power interests.

The traditional tendency in schooling is to skip over the power problem. For example, in the use of community resources, it is enough that little children be acquainted with the *externalia* of common living, the institutions on which the area depends. For older pupils, and certainly at college levels, it is imperative to consider the matter of who runs a particular community; whose community is it? With a store, church, post office, social agency, what can be seen is but the outer shell of a social

structure, the mechanics of a way of life taken much too much for granted. Who makes policies, employs and rewards staff members, determines the kinds of services offered, raises and spends money, and seeks to shape public views? Beneath the surface, what are the greater and lesser, the local and nonlocal, centers of power?

In mass society, the problem of power has become very complicated. The great power units are those groupings which determine the routine behaviors of men, the conditions under which they must live. These power centers are well-known—the industrial organizations, the political machines, the business and professional groups, the large churches, government, and so on. While identification is easy, the uses of power are very obscure. Mostly, power in a democracy is exercised by nonstate agencies, with government setting the rules for its use. It is here that the dilemma lies, for power always tends to escape rigorous control. Its holders find ways of getting things done, undercover as well as aboveboard, always masking under the ideologies of democracy, the symbols and slogans of freedom. To point the need for effective control in the public interest does not carry us very far toward a solution of the power problem.

From a practical standpoint, one implication for education has already been mentioned: the need to study power operations, to acquaint learners in terms of their readiness to learn with the conditions under which they live. More important is another point, the need for every teacher to develop a personal point of view in respect to his own behavior toward power. For example, every school system is a power unit, especially every large urban school system where the line of command runs a long way from the top down. What attitude shall one take toward "authority"? The obvious answer is that it will depend; it will depend on more variables than we can center quickly. Consider a segment of the total problem. Assume that one must somehow have administrative help in solving a concrete problem; how shall he approach the central office? In this case, what attitudes are possible? While the issue is still complex, the viewpoint of a college teacher will open the question for discussion.

GO AS FAST AS YOU CAN, AS SLOW AS YOU MUST,
BUT GO, AND AGAIN GO!

A student came into my office and asked to speak with me. I said, "Sure, go right ahead." He seemed reluctant to start, stating that the matter would take more time, that he had better make an appointment. He showed up the next day on the dot, still a bit hesitant about opening up. Again encouraged to go ahead, he came rather slowly to the point.

"Well, prof, I guess you know that I am a radical?" "No, I did not know that you were. What are you radical about?" Forming in his mind as it were his conception of himself, he said that he was radical about "race." My reply upset him a little for I held that that "was fine, that I wished him every success in his work." He flushed, informing me that race was a serious business with him, implying that I had taken it all too lightly. When he added that I was not a radical, that he was doubtful about majoring in educational sociology, I knew that it was time to get down to cases.

I cited in detail an experience with a city school system, the outcome of which was to get some good things done for Negro children. "Now," I continued, "do you know how this came about? Two weeks ago, Mr. X, the most radical race man in town, interviewed the superintendent of schools on this same business. He asked for a great deal, in fact for much more than could be granted. One word led to another, emotions got involved, and presently there was a heated argument.

"I came along later, asked for less, judging what the situation would stand, and got most of it. In truth, the superintendent actually seemed glad to see me, a man with whom he must have felt he could do business. How do you analyze the case? Did Mr. X help me? Have I furthered the cause for which he stands? In short, how does an institution, or a society, get on with its new business?"

Assuming that several general approaches are possible, the professor has illustrated one, the position of a gradualist at work on social issues. He has treated the "central office" as a problem in mechanics rather than in morals, a matter of tactics in getting a job done. His concern was to adjust a value clash, to get a better balancing of privileges for an underprivileged group, via a kind of bargaining process. His "politics," if such it were, was not of the "fairy-wand" type, the bootlicking variety, the current charm school, much less of a manipulative

sort. It was characterized by realism, a weighing of pros and cons, of forces for and against the superintendent's action, plus a judgment as to where settlement could be made.

On a very practical level, public officials in and outside of education usually do have time to confer with a person who is sympathetic with their problems. Often, they seem to have a bad conscience on some current matter, a hint perhaps that Machiavelli misjudged the role of morals in human affairs; or else officeholders fear public criticism of their acts. Assuming that they want to do what their professional training and their conscience tell them is just and fair, they must be provided the opportunity to act. An outsider should always remember that any institutional officer must speak for a multitude of internal and external interests, that he must maintain organization policy, that he can only move as fast as he can find or create support.

In still broader context, the incident cited raises the general question of roles, for example, radical, conservative, and gradualist, if the latter concept has any definitive meaning. As usually defined, these roles are placed in conflict which, in some ways, is the case. Yet it is possible to conceive them in a co-operative relation, all working together for the good of a social order as it changes. For instance, did the professor help the radical race leaders in his community? As a gradualist moves ahead, a radical to be radical must move on; he must devise new objectives else the gradualist will close the gap. Conversely, a conservative must advance or chance being completely lost in the shuffle, a lone voice whom no one takes seriously.

ZONES OF SCHOOL ACTION

It seems to follow from what has been said that there are degrees of tolerance in every community; or, better said, there are zones of school action on local issues and problems. One area of action can be identified as action in line with dominant power interests, a course followed by many institutions of all kinds. Zone two would be the reverse, action contrary to powerful influences, hence extremely risky. It is the third zone which is of particular interest, the narrow marginal band separating the

other two. Everywhere, if one searches, he can find areas of social living, of obvious need, where things are in flux, where power alignments are not yet set, hence where sensible action has more than an even chance of success.

TAKING THE TOWN BY STORM

There was no recreational program for young people in this community, nothing but the usual urban commercial places, and no dancing was allowed in the school. . . . Well, we did a lot of careful planning with students and parents before we burst forth, for burst is the only word that will describe the big noise that we finally made.

What we did was to turn the school for this Saturday night into a "nightclub," with students putting on the acts . . . short skits, songs, gymnastics, a master of ceremonies, pop corn and peanuts. We had news photographers in, in fact got a big feature writeup in next morning's Sunday paper. And best of all, the blowout was a complete success. No opposition ever developed, or rather ever became known and caused us any trouble, for parents and others seemed to be standing squarely behind us in what we were trying to do for the kids.

In this chapter, aspects of school and community relations have been examined, with emphasis on the need for schools to come to some effective operational stand on local power issues. To call teachers timid, to say that they lack backbone, does little good. To exhort them to senseless action to fight battles that can scarcely ever be won, is even worse. To assert as a profound bit of thinking that schools "transmit culture, not change it," is simply contrary to fact. Some schools do change local culture; they have accepted this function and won approval for it as a proper school service. In cases where such situations have been studied, effective educational action rests upon the common sense of school heads and teachers. In the remainder of this volume, we want to see what contribution in understanding, in strategies and tactics can be made to these courageous people.

Problems and Projects

1. How do schools relate themselves to their local area? Appoint a class committee to study this problem by interviewing school heads in the community.

2. What was the viewpoint of the Shady Cove teacher as to how her school should be related to the community? If the schools of your home-town community had the same philosophy, what concretely could they do to make it work?

3. What social pressures operate on schools in larger communities? In smaller places? Is the school ever "free" to plan an educational program? Should it be? Explain your reasoning.

4. The "power problem," like the grin of the Cheshire cat, seems to be with us always. If you can run down the reference, read and report on E. Pendleton Herring, "Logomachy and Administration," *Journal of Social Philosophy* (January, 1937), 95-117; found also in Wilson and Kolk, *Social Analysis*, 530-546, one of the best articles in print on power and its uses. Set up a symposium, panel, or round table in class to discuss your report.

5. Set up a sociodrama on the "cow and calf" case, showing how this use of community resources could have been better planned.

6. Do you personally agree with the professor's "gradualist" approach in the case where he talks over schoolwork with a radical student? What are the most telling criticisms against this approach? What are its good points? What is your personal point of view about controversial issues?

7. Why, in your opinion, are teachers in general so cagey about stating a point of view, taking a stand on current social issues? Are they to blame, or the system in which they work, or both? Can you imagine situations in which one must stand for what he believes to be right, even if that stand endangers his job? Illustrate your answer.

8. If now, you could write your own ticket on the matter, how should schools be related to their community? Make your big points first, and then give concrete illustrations to show their meaning.

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CHAPTER 10

A THEORY OF CHILD SOCIALIZATION

Of chief concern to the school are the children of the community, the young people who will with time move into the countless social positions, the roles and statuses, which in sum form the community. In the now disappearing primary mode of life, child socialization was no particular problem. It is never a problem in simple-stable societies, as anthropologists show. Child acculturation was a matter of living along, learning the

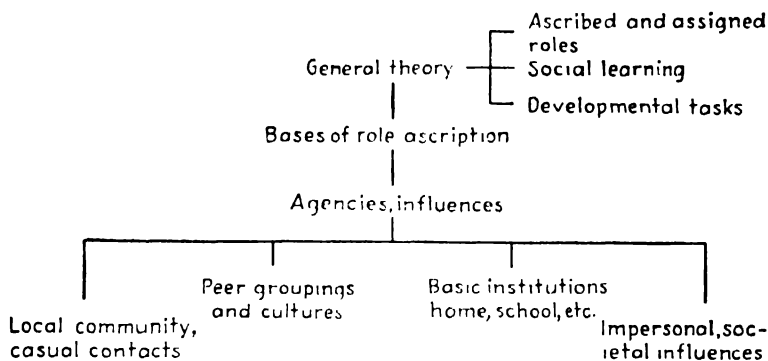


FIG. 23. Outline for the study of child socialization.

things expected, fitting into patterns that were visible and uniform. In our present complex-unstable society, the matter is quite different. Fluid, changing, almost formless, the social order itself is problematic, disintegrative. New roles and statuses arise with each generation, old and familiar ones disappear, and the line of movement from infancy to adulthood is anything but clear. Schools find it difficult to state fundamental purposes because of the cultural disorder in which they must live.

There have been many theories of child socialization, many

systematic viewpoints, research studies, and kitchen-help hints. Everyone who works with children might be expected to hold some basic conception of how young people come of age, how they grow up and assume their places in adult community life. The problem is so broad and so complex that any short discussion is doomed to failure unless its limits are defined.

We shall not be able to cover the whole outline; in fact little will be said about the work of institutions in socializing children, for this will be treated in other places. Most systematic theories explain the *how* of social learning rather than the *what* of learning, thus neglecting the major emphasis in the chapter, the cultural differentials that operate in the socializing process.

ACCULTURATION: CASE STUDIES

One way to begin a study of acculturation would be to examine current social fiction. We want again to call attention to this source of information about human relations, for fiction may indeed be truer to life than life itself. Characters and situations are generalized, whereas real life is idiosyncratic, infinitely variable.

KINGS ROW: THE STATUS SYSTEM¹

The locale of *Kings Row* is a small Missouri town, probably Fulton, Missouri, although the author does not name the place. The book is an almost day-by-day record of how children are processed in the norms and forms of area living, coming in time to assume the roles destined for them or else to achieve roles for themselves. The time is, perhaps, from about the 1890's to 1915, giving these youngsters opportunity to pass from childhood through adolescence to the initial stages of adult life. The start of the story is suggestive of its central theme.

A teacher has dismissed her class of elementary-grade children. As they leave the building and start for home, she walks to the window and watches them shuffle along. Some go arm in arm by twos or threes, others in larger groupings, and still others wander on alone, the social isolates of the place. Some go, she knows, to the big houses on the hill, many to average homes, others across the tracks to "shack-

¹ Henry Bellaman, *Kings Row*, Sun Dial, Garden City, New York, 1940. See also the volume, coauthored with his wife, *The Return of Parris Mitchell*, 1949.

town." Being of a reflective turn of mind, she ponders on the speed with which "the social lines" of the community fall down about her pupils, uniting them, dividing them, fashioning their life and thought along the roads they will travel into adolescence and adulthood. She marvels at the ready destruction of what she regards as the democracy of her classroom.

For what kind of life are these children being fashioned? The author is not wholly clear on the point. At times he speaks of "multiple worlds," as many personal worlds as there are central characters in the book. In general, however, children shuttle back and forth among three worlds, three "layers," or "levels," of life and culture. There are the "old-stock" families, the "best people," the "top layer," or "upper crust," of the Kings Row community. Next are the "common people," the "average homes," the "solid middle class." Beneath them are the "shiftless whites," the "white trash," the people "on the bottom." All Negroes in the town—and they form a sizable number—live in a world "apart from" and "beneath" the whites. In the segregated educational system, the "colored" children attend a different school so that they play no direct part in the child society the author describes.

This, then, is the adult community awaiting children, a community that has grown from a "sleepy little center" of the 1890's to a bustling town of perhaps ten thousand in the early 1900's. In a simple two-class diagram, since Bellaman deals chiefly with upper and lower class contrasts, the social order would look like a fairly simple matter.

What Fig. 24 suggests, first of all, is a white class system. Major upper and lower class children can be named in the inner circle, their parents, in part, in the outer circle; and it would be interesting to trace the "struggle pattern" or life-history of each of these youngsters. Parris Mitchell, for example, lives with his grandmother, Madame Marie von Elm, a remarkably vigorous and broadly cultured person of foreign birth. The boy speaks French and German. His English has a slight accent which he never loses and, throughout his life, he is looked upon by natives as somewhat different, a bit queer. After attending the local college and reading medicine with a Dr. Tower, he goes abroad to study psychiatry and returns to a post in the new mental hospital just outside town. Dr. Tower himself is a man without a history, coming from some place not known to local gossipers, hence mysterious. Although shunned by the town, he knew more medicine, Parris found, than the whole of the Aberdeen College staff; yet he never had a patient.

In the V-space to the left, we have listed "deviants" whom the author cannot fit readily into the class-typed social order. Father Donovan, for example, the local Catholic priest in a predominantly Protestant community, is the center of a great deal of irresponsible talk. Where does he go on his lonely walks across the hills? What are his relations with his aged housekeeper? Why doesn't he stop to

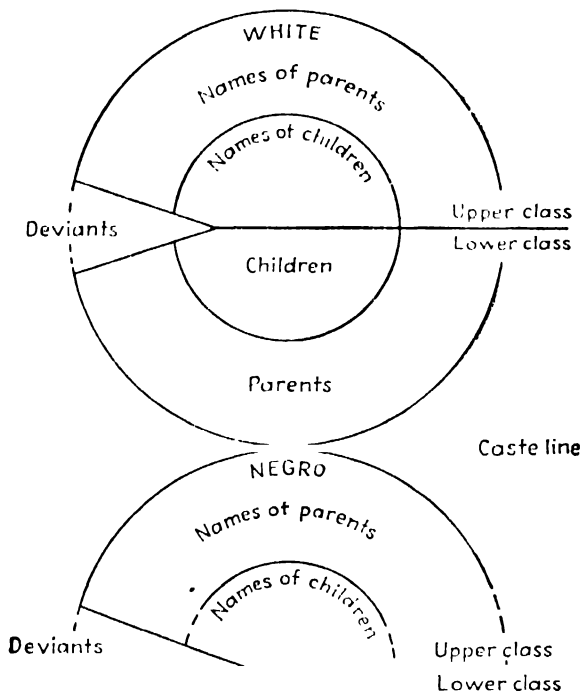


FIG. 21. Caste class in King's Row.

pass the time of day with the old cronies who hang around the courthouse square, swapping tales about the town and its intimate affairs? The priest is obviously not lower class; yet the community as a whole does not accord him upper-class status.

Impinging on the white world is another world, a universe of color pretty much ignored by the author. Aside from Melissa St. George, daughter of one of the big landowners by his Negro housekeeper, no Negro figures in the account. Melissa, in her own right, is an interesting character, a girl one would like to know more about. As used by the author, she becomes an exceedingly important person, a symbol to

show how the two caste orders live in a superordinate and subordinate relationship.

Melissa's early life is not recorded. When she appears in the book, she has just returned from a teacher's college. She is pictured as a well-educated, well-groomed, and intelligent person. Peyton Graves, a somewhat bumptious, upwardly mobile white man, has been appointed to the schoolboard, and Melissa interviews him about a job in the Negro schools. Shortly an intimate relationship develops between the girl and the older man which is, apparently, satisfactory to both for a considerable time. Through real-estate speculation and otherwise, Peyton gets into serious trouble, growing more desperate until, seeing no way out, he threatens to take his life. Melissa tells him that she has a sum of money left her by her white father, suggesting that they take it and go away to Mexico or some such place. Peyton is intrigued, sensing an avenue of escape, until the girl mentions casually that they can then get married and live like other people. Forthwith, he becomes very angry. Although having been intimate with her on past visits to his office, he denounces her violently, reminding the girl of her blood and origins. Moral weakling that he is, he cannot face the thought of an equality relationship between the races such as implied in civil marriage.

Reasoning that any system of human relations could not exist unless children were educated to carry it on, Bellaman shows by a series of significant incidents how young people come to learn class-typed habits of thought and action. For instance, the birthday party early in the book is typical. It is Cassie Tower's birthday, and invitations have been given to all members of her grade at school, including Louise Gordon, daughter of the socially prominent Dr. and Mrs. Gordon. Not wanting Louise to associate with Cassie because of her "disreputable father," Mrs. Gordon arranges a party on the same day. Only Parris of all the children shows up at the Tower's home, the others going to the party for Louise.

Another revealing scene is the incident at the icehouse. It is Sunday afternoon, and, as in many places, children have a problem of what to do, how to use time, since many of their routine play pursuits are taboo. Parris and his boon companion, Drake McHugh, are walking down the railroad track on the way to an old icehouse where it will be cool. Seeing Randy Monoghan, "shanty Irish" daughter of a railroad section gang foreman, they exchange banter with her, inviting her to join them. She sneaks out later and meets them at the icehouse, where all three take turns at doing tricks on a swinging bar, somersaults and the like.

Finding that her dress gets in the way, she takes it off, doing much better than Parris in her performance on the bar.

Tiring with their efforts, the children rest on the cool sawdust. Drake, advanced in his sex knowledge, whispers a proposal to Randy, and she shakes her head. Again he whispers, and she refuses. He suggests then that they "initiate" Parris. While Randy laughs knowingly, she does not respond. The scene closes with Drake's accusation that he "bets Randy's beau is the iceman." The point of the incident is in Drake's attitude toward Randy. No girl of his own upper-class status would have been invited on the trip or, if so, accepted such an invitation. One could not, for example, imagine Louise Gordon in a similar situation.

Years later this same type of interclass relation is seen in Drake's affair with the Ross sisters. Jinny and Poppy Ross are lower lower class adolescents and definitely shady characters. Unlike other men, Drake drives them openly through the little town in his new phaeton, on out to the country, where as the gossipers said, "They're not goin' to pick flowers." Hearing about Drake to whom she is nominally engaged, Louise Gordon is in tears, but her mother, an astute woman in matters of social status, is not worried. She reassures Louise, telling her that Drake will settle down, that this is a period which will pass. Mrs. Gordon takes quite a different attitude when Drake starts keeping company with Randy Monaghan, by this time an attractive and intelligent young woman. Now, presumably, statuses are near enough together so that marriage is not impossible. In fact after the loss of his legs by an unnecessary amputation, Drake does marry Randy.

Kings Row tells us something about the life of a number of children in a small Missouri town. Mostly, it deals with the adult status system as it comes to incorporate a generation of young people, to sift and sort and assign them to their adult roles and statuses, which are, in turn, the jobs, groupings, institutions, responsibilities, etc., that the community itself wants to have carried on. The next case will show more specifically how a young woman first sought to learn a new cultural role and then, after some experience in it, rejected it in favor of the role of "career girl" which she elected for herself.

Kitty Foyle is the daughter of a second generation, low class Irish family, living "across the tracks" in an industrial area of

Philadelphia. Her father, now a night watchman, was once the groundkeeper of an exclusive "Main Line" cricket club, hence came to know the "Rittenhouse Square" upper class crowd. Kitty falls in love with Wynnewood Strafford VI, "top hat of top hats," and much of the volume is devoted to her discoveries of what his life and backgrounds are really like.

KITTY FOYLE: ROLE LEARNING AND REJECTION²

"It was on account of cricket," says Kitty, "that Wyn first came to the house." He was getting some old scorebooks for a publication on the first hundred years of the game in Philly. She recalls that he was wearing "old gray pants, soft shirt and cricket club blazer," all of which was in sharp contrast to her lower class picture of what an upper class person would wear. "I only thought, my God, does he work at a bank in that outfit? How could I guess how much swank there was in that intentional shabbiness."

When she asked if Mr. Strafford was in the lumber business, her father, who claimed to "know class," set her right. "Jesus god," exclaimed the old man, "don't you ever read your *Ledger*? Strafford, Wynnewood and Company, is the oldest private bank in Philly. Darby Mill, that's the name of their country place; there's an old sawmill on the crick out there where they cut up logs for Washington at Valley Forge. Honey, those folks are so pedigreed they'd be ashamed to press their pants. They hire someone to drive the Rolls for a year before they use it, so it won't look too fresh."

As her acquaintance with Wyn lengthens, she comes to reflect on the great difference between their two cultural worlds. Wyn's family lives far out on the Main Line at St. David and has a townhouse on Rittenhouse Square in central Philadelphia, the earlier residential area of the upper class. Kitty's home by contrast is in an industrial section, dirty, crowded, and lower class. "It's freight trains and coal yards and factories and the smell of tanneries," writes Kitty. Her mother had come from Germantown, which, in Kitty's opinion, was "pretty much top shelf" in comparison with the district where the family now lived but in no sense the equal of Wyn's backgrounds.

When it seemed evident that her world and Wyn's world "simply would not mix," Kitty sought to escape by going to Chicago. Wyn followed her at the cost of missing the Philadelphia Assembly, the annual upper class ball, a fact that impressed Kitty a great deal. To

² Christopher Morley, *Kitty Foyle*. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1939.

celebrate, they decide to go to a night club for dinner and dancing. To Kitty's surprise, Wyn bought a ready-made evening suit. "I bet," she says, "it was the only time he wore ready mades, and he looked almost too ritzy. He said he did a few somersaults over the bed to take the shine off."

Throughout the story, Kitty makes clothes the first mark of class. For instance, on her second runaway to Chicago, she meets a young Jewish doctor, intelligent, competent, and attractive. While not in love with him, she finds pleasure in his company; yet always she is conscious of his clothes. Referring to Wyn, she writes in her shop-girl style: "Did you make a snob out of me, big boy! I could wring Mark Eisen's neck when I see his clothes, poor sweetheart, and how hard he tries. Always too nifty, too shiny like cellophane. His striped pants, creased like a knife edge, would bar him from any cricket club, and his black and white shoes are definitely Hollywood. . . . A man ought to look like he's put together by accident, not added up on purpose!"

Piece by piece, as she fits the puzzle together, she identifies other criteria of upper class living. For example, Wyn tries for a time to publish a magazine patterned after the *New Yorker*, and Kitty works as his secretary. Having heard about the use of the term "Esquire" among upper class members, she addresses a letter in this manner. "I remembered Pop's talk about the high toned Esq. and I wrote it M. Parrish Berwyn Esq., which Wyn said was wrong." The idea seemed to be that one does not address a man as Esquire if he is writing him a business letter at his office but only if writing him for nonbusiness reasons at his home. "To put Esq. on a business letter," said Wyn, "is a phony touch, a *nouveau riche* mistake."

Class backgrounds are revealed in speech. Kitty's talk is slangy, racy, at times verging on the obscene. Her favorite expression is "Jesus god," a phrase picked up from her father. By contrast, Wyn's crowd lives in a phonetical system all its own. "I think of Rosey's voice," writes Kitty, "that easy well-bred accent that seems to fit them like a suit of good tweeds. The kind of voice people only get when they've had good meals and good sleep for several generations and horses in the stable."

The story's climax comes when Wyn announces his intention of marrying Kitty. His family's initial response is to invite her to a house party at their country home. She accepts with reluctance, senses shortly after her arrival that her formal introduction to society will be "a flop." "It was," she reminisces, "a great mistake. Of course Wyn

had done all that any man would, told everybody to be lovely to me. They were so goddamn lovely I could have torn their eyes out. I was the only one that wasn't in the union. That crowd, if they ever stopped to think about it, would reckon that Ben Franklin was a boy from the wrong side of the tracks, so what could they think about me! Somebody wanted to know if I was one of the Inglehart Foyles from Baltimore, or the Saltonstall Foyles from *Pride's Crossing*. . . . Good old Rosey Rittenhouse turned the talk to cricket and that helped to ease the tension."

After dinner, she takes a walk with Wyn, sees his old station wagon in the hitching shed, and tries to persuade him to drive her home. "But," she writes, "I was supposed to stay the night and had to go through with it." When it was time to retire, Mrs. Strafford hoped that Kitty "would rest well," asking her if she wished a maid to undress her. "Jesus god," Kitty remarks, "I blushed like one of those Cornell chrysanthemums. I wanted to say that there's only one person here who's good enough to undress me. Wyn, who had kept his eyes on me all evening, saw me turn red and came across the room to see what was up." Talk turned to the magazine which Wyn was giving up as a financial failure and for which his family was extremely glad.

Asked as to her own plans, Kitty said she was going to Chicago. "I didn't know myself I was going to say it. Wyn was terribly startled but what a flash of, well, thankfulness, I saw in Mrs. Strafford's eyes. Poor dear, she was only playing on the signals that had been taught her. I could see that down under she had a respect for me, she'd like to have me around if it could have been allowed." Mrs. Strafford mentioned some acquaintances in Lake Forest (Chicago), adding that "modern girls are so courageous, so enterprising, don't you think?" "I looked around," said Kitty, "at the enterprising modern girls. They were showing a good deal of knee sprawling on sofas with brandy and sodas and members of the Racquet Club, or they were screeching at ping pong or playing some baby chess called b'gammon. I felt homesick for a good filing case," for some honest earn-a-dollar work.

The reaction of Wyn's family was, obviously, not personal hostility to Kitty but rather a realistic understanding of the different social worlds in which the two young people had been reared. Not to be dissuaded, Wyn insisted on his right to marry Kitty. On the advice of a family friend, an old Quaker banker, the family accepts the verdict and, in despair, decides on a cultural renovation for Kitty. She is to be sent to college for a year and then abroad for a year, after which further acculturation can be planned. Choked with emotion and

speechless because her pride was hurt, Kitty soon gained self-control and calmly rejected the whole idea.

"My poor baby," she says about Wyn in reviewing this scene, "how could you know what that would do to me the way I was just then. Maybe that nice old man, with his *thee* talk, could have sold it to me; I don't know. . . . I had a picture of some family conference at which the Straffords and their advisers were trying to figure out how the curse was going to be taken off Kitty Foyle. So, they were going to buy the girl an education, polish off her rough edges, make her good enough to live with stuffed animals' heads and get in the *Ledger*. Cut her out of a copy of *Vogue* and give her a charge account and make a Main Line doll out of her. They can't do that to Kitty Foyle. Jesus god, that's what they are themselves, a bunch of paper dolls."

Kitty goes to New York and becomes a "white-collar" office worker. Wyn marries a girl at his own status level, and the book ends with its central characters moving along their respective ways, each being reabsorbed into the perspectives of his own class.

Wittingly, no doubt, Morley has made Kitty Foyle a student of the upper class, a critical observer of its mode of life. An upwardly mobile career girl in her own right, her perceptions were based on the middle class life to which she aspired, a life where enterprise and independence counted for much; where old family lineage, reverence for the past, and traditional behaviors counted for very little. Enough of Kitty's low class origins persist to make her unconventional in her manners, honest in her feelings and impulses, and with a flare for sizing up people. Wyn, by contrast, remains immature, a symbol of his lifelong security, the lack of need to achieve any role other than the ones implicit in his birthright. The author never accords him the insight which Marquand, for instance, gives to *H. M. Pulham, Esq.* or to the central character in his *Point of No Return*.

A THEORY OF CHILD SOCIALIZATION

In Sparta, about 450 B.C., the first consideration a child received was given by the Council of Elders which decided whether the infant was to live or die. If the child was wellborn and strong, he was permitted to live; if weak or crippled, born out of time or out of wedlock, he was left to perish from exposure.

No modern society follows such practices; yet the community still functions to control the socialization process.

An individual's most important functions for society are performed when he is fully adult, not when he is immature.³ Hence society's treatment of the child is chiefly preparatory and the evaluation of him mainly anticipatory (like a savings account). Any doctrine which views the child's needs as paramount and those of organized society as secondary is a sociological anomaly, although a personal evaluation of particular children above other ends (mainly by parents) is a normal phenomenon which fits the cultural system for socializing the young.

Put in more concrete terms, the first task of any community is to survive, and children, as we have said, are a society's life-insurance policy. From this standpoint, a child is valued, not for what he is at birth or in immature years, but for what he is expected to become, the part he is destined to play in community life. Thus, the treatment accorded him is anticipatory and preparatory for these later roles and statuses, rights and duties.

Here every community faces a dilemma. Acculturation must begin at once; yet it cannot be set going until the nature of the child is known, his talent, abilities, and potentials. Since newborn babies look very much alike, the only possible procedure is to assign to each a tentative role or cluster of roles on the basis of observable or inferable objective criteria. These *ascribed roles* tell the world what the child is and is, perhaps, destined to become, the points at which he will enter community life, how others will treat him, the behaviors in which he will engage. Of course no Council of Elders functions; no meeting is held; no records set down. Ascribed roles are determined by custom and are subject to change by whatever *achieved roles* the individual may work out.

While ascription of role at birth is without reference to individual differences in abilities, it is not wholly by guess. There are *bases* or clues on which the procedure is founded, identifying symbols about which every society has accumulated a vast store

³ Kingsley Davis, "The Child in the Social Structure," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 14 (1940), 218-230.

of sentiment, folklore, myth, and wisdom. There is no logical order for the discussion of these traditional bases for "placing" a child in a social order, for assigning roles and statuses, because they all merge in the adult treatment of the child. They precede and condition his outlook on life, his struggles to achieve self-determined objectives of his own.

BASES OF ROLE ASCRIPTION

One basis of role ascription is *sex*. Sex is a visible biological fact, evident at birth and fixed for life. It denotes a major adult life function, reproduction, and divides children into two great groupings. "Infant" and "baby" are sexless terms, but "boy" and "girl" are not, and sex typing of appearances and behaviors starts with the application of these latter concepts. How boys learn to be boys and girls learn to be girls and what happens to personality when sex roles conflict is a most fascinating study, one that should be run down by students of social learning. In the horse-and-buggy days, our culture was pretty clear as to sex roles, the one respected career for women being marriage and homemaking. Today the situation is much confused, especially in respect to women. In studies of college girls, we have found definite content for at least six sex roles: the glamour girl, the good companion, the career woman, the scholar, the athletic "mannish type," and the "neurotic maladjust." What other patterns exist and how far downward in years they extend is not known, though high-school girls seem to identify with each of the roles listed.

A second basis of role assignment is *age*. A near-zero age does not, to be sure, distinguish an infant from his cribmates, but it does set him apart from younger and older age grades. Unlike sex, age is a changing category, thus does not give rise to permanent statuses. It is made the basis of many peer-level privileges, notably in the transition from "adolescence" to adulthood. "Be your age" or "act your age" is a familiar phrase, and an analysis of its use would throw light on the use of age categories to control behaviors. Schools are our most thoroughly age-graded institution, particularly where automatic promotion is in vogue.

A third great symbol of role ascription is *kin*. To argue that there is nothing in a name, that Goldberg or Janowski is "as good" as Smith or Jones or that any of these family name titles has the social stimulus value of, say, the Straffords in the case just cited, is contrary to fact. Surnames are definite clues to lineage, lineage to past achievements. The past is made a basis for judging the future; hence at the start of life kin ties are positive assets or liabilities.

Race is the fourth great basis of role assignment. In the public mind in our society, race means a color grouping, a division of mankind apparent at birth and immutable. To what can be seen, that is, the physical marks of breed, the average individual imputes mental, moral, and social qualities, tending in a caste order to rate white persons as above and better than any other, thus to place an incalculable handicap on the well-being and advancement of "color" groupings. For example, Negro children who are very light—in truth more white than negroid—have experienced a complete change of attitudes and treatment by white playmates, and even by school teachers, on discovery that they are "colored."

There is, finally, *social class* as defined in previous chapters and judged, for purpose of role ascription, by the area where a child lives, his home backgrounds, parental behaviors, income or property, and associates. Other criteria may enter into the body of custom by which roles are assigned; yet such factors must precede a child's first social behavior, for here achieved roles come into being. Achieved roles, in a freely competitive system, are based on ability. They are not distributed to people at birth but left open or permissive, to be filled as persons demonstrate talent and ambitions.

LEARNING ROLE CONTENT

Whether ascribed or achieved roles are under discussion, the socialization process is a learning process, for all role content must be learned. By content is meant the fit of the role to the total personality, the attitudes, values, and behaviors compatible with society's expectation of how people should act, for example, what a "nice girl" or "brave boy," a "good worker" or "ambitious man,"

a "homemaker" or "school teacher" is really like. In general, children tend to live ahead in their successive roles, to imagine themselves more grown-up than their parents may concede. "May I have an allowance, Dad?" "Mother, am I old enough to date?" "Guess I'll need a razor, Pa," or "Mother, you *know* all the girls let their boy friends kiss them after the first date!"

Learning role content is, we believe, the most important aspect of all social learning; hence to understand socialization, time must be spent on a study of learning. The learning we have in mind always occurs within a given cultural pattern, usually within a specific social situation, with the cases we have given illustrating both points. Thus acculturation depends not only on the personal fitness of the individual but on his position in the community frame of life. It depends markedly on his social class level, as further examples will reveal. After presenting cases in class, student panels assessed the class-typed learnings of the Negro adolescents under study.

JULIE, THE FIGHTING AMAZON ⁴

What, now, has Julie learned from her 16 years of living? She has learned that there is nothing quite as important as sex, that sex can be used to get most anything from the men she knows. She has learned to fight with her fists, to be afraid of nobody, to curse and tell dirty stories to equal those of the lowest characters with whom she associates. She has learned not to expect affection from her mother, to exploit her father, to hold her own or win her way in battles with her siblings, to be rough and tough with all people. She has learned that school is a "no good place," that it can contribute nothing which she values in her present way of living. She has learned the street life of the slum area in New Orleans where she dwells, that all men are fair game, that there are ways of making an easy dollar.

CHESTER, THE SELF-MADE MAN ⁵

Chester, short, slight and brown, is a "self-made man," an upwardly mobile 'teen-age boy. He has learned that, in spite of low class backgrounds, he can get ahead, be somebody in his peer groups. In general,

⁴ Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1940.

⁵ *Ibid.*

he has learned "talent mobility," doing the things he can do well and which his crowd values. Aided by his aspiring mother, he has become a star athlete in his school. He has been taken up by the smart set, goes on parties with them, dates a girl in the crowd. He has learned the value of clothes, dressing a bit too slick but in style. He has learned to avoid the "hoodlums" in his district, to make good grades in school, to take an active part in church youth groups, to save the little money he can earn, to be polite to people. He wants to go to college and to become a physician, goals that may well be within his reach.

Class training is, of course, more complex than these comments suggest. It stretches over the whole of child life—toilet habits, weaning, food preferences, appearances, dress, manners, choice of friends, games and sports, attitudes toward school, work, expressions of sex, concepts of right and wrong, forms of aggression, and so on. At every status level, class members are expected to follow specific, approved roles, even in their upward mobility. What causes students to resent Sammy so much in Schulberg's *What Makes Sammy Run* is not that the boy "ran" but that he got ahead by violating all their own (and society's) standards governing mobility. Since each person must play several different roles at once, such as sex, class, and race, a strain is put upon him to keep these parts integrated. Since roles change with time, the task of learning and relearning their form and content is never ended. For mobile young people such as Chester, the problem is still further complicated. The *developmental tasks* ahead of him, as he moves toward a new mode of life (middle class), must be comprehended as well as mastered, a situation not found in static cultures where a boy's future is much the same as his father's past.

From what has been said, it is clear that learning comes from struggle. It is not, therefore, an inactive process, the impact of culture on personality. It is a dynamic, outreaching effort by a motivated individual. "One must want something (drive)," write Miller and Dollard,⁶ "notice something (cue), do something (response), and get something (reward)." In this sense, learning is problem solving, with both problems and answers arising from

⁶ Neil Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation*.

the culture in which one's life is lived. While improvement of learning will take a variety of forms, we want to stress one point in passing. With superstitions, biases, prejudices so much a part of every class-typed mode of life, so omnipresent and compulsive for young people, a prime function of every school should be to provide experiences on which new attitudes can be built. Ways and means of changing perceptions are, therefore, a clue of importance in guiding schoolwork.

DEVELOPMENT OF GROUP BEHAVIOR

Of particular interest to us is the development of age-level groupings. Separated by years of living from his adult socializers, held in by their absolute authority over him, the child cannot as a rule "understand" the logic of their actions or even the culture they would transmit to him. He must take it on faith or, simply, obey, learning what Piaget⁷ has called the "morality of constraint." In contrast, the morality of cooperation is learned by children in their association with equals, that is, chiefly in peer groups. Here youngsters have endless practice in role playing, in intimate give-and-take, in devising and executing their own purposes. Moreover, they are privy to a peer culture which never finds its way into the adult world—games, rules of conduct, taboos, fads, crazes, sex knowledge, shades of meaning that escape elders. One cannot readily document all these learnings for they spread over the whole of childhood. Here the focus will be on the trend toward groupness as revealed in play.

Much of child life is "play," meaning simply the non-work-motivated things that children do, the activities they enter upon at their own initiative. In the preplay stage shortly after birth—if the term is permissible—an infant will soon begin to follow moving objects with his eyes, to make differential responses to any person who ministers to his wants. Such *selective attention* is basic to the socialization process; yet true social behavior depends upon the freedom of movement which comes with walking at about the age of 12 to 16 months and the elemental use of language a little later.

⁷ Jean Piaget, *The Moral Judgment of the Child*, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1932.

It is perhaps incorrect to speak of "stages" in the play life of children, for some types of play are concomitant rather than sequential, and, even in the latter instance, children progress at uneven rates of speed.

At first, child play is of a *solitary nature*. Each child plays by himself, or else he pushes another child about as if he were an inanimate object. Quarrels are the principal form of interactive (or social) behavior. At 2 years of age, play tends to take the semisolitary form of *parallel activities*, where each child will, if given blocks, build his own house. At 3 to 4 years of age, the same children will use their blocks to build a joint structure. Play becomes *cooperative* to a degree, and nursery-school teachers find it possible to develop activity groupings of two's, three's, or more. The complexity of projects, both from the standpoint of the interpersonal relations involved and of the games played, is much greater than at the 2-year level, and group structuring continues to increase with age.

At the 3- to 5-year level, *imaginative play* has its beginnings. Children imitate most anything in sight, acting out assumed roles. A child is an airplane out of control and breaking up the furniture. He is a soldier in a foxhole shooting at an enemy. He is a doctor treating some family member, a social worker making a call on his own home. By noting the reactions of others to his actions, by imagining their imaginations, he develops a concept of self and of others. He patterns on the roles about him, projecting life into all sorts of things. The parts he plays, his imitations and improvisations, are inconsistent one with another, quickly changeable, and unrealistically conceived.

Starting with the above period but better seen a little later, play takes the form of *organized group games* of a simple nature. Members rotate roles and functions. One child is "it," only to be replaced, by group assent, with another leader. Indeed, "follow the leader" is a typical game and, under modern urban conditions, may take fantastic forms. Asked what they were playing, a group of youngsters said the game was called "certain death." The idea was to follow a leader who would wait until an approaching car was almost abreast and then dash across the street in front of it.

From 10 to 14, interest tends to center in the large, general type of children's organizations, for example, the Scouts. This is a period both of diffused interests in many kinds of ritualized activities, each with definite rules to hold its members together, with symbols, badges, and the like, and also of *highly organized team games*. This stage is, perhaps, the most significant of all play periods, for it provides the major basis of cooperative participation in adult community life.

In any complicated team game, for example, baseball, a player must learn to play two or more parts in his mind, to anticipate the moves of other players and adjust to them. Thus, a participant learns to project himself into the roles of others, to cooperate with them in consistent, habitual, and realistic ways. From this point, one further projection is necessary to establish the individual as a responsible citizen of his time and place, the ability to identify himself with what Mead has called "the generalized other," that is, with an impersonal, often remote "public good."

With puberty, drop rates are high for loss of membership in the large, somewhat general type of grouping. Young people are attracted to smaller, homogeneous organizations on both an *area and an interest basis*. Groupings are selective in character, trending mainly toward a community of interest, a differentiation of like-minded, like-talented persons, rather than a union of neighborhood dwellers.

IMPERSONAL, SOCIETAL INFLUENCES

No account of socialization would dare ignore the impact of society at large on an area's children, the tremendous sweep of urban culture over the land. Mostly, the outer world comes to children via media of mass impression: the movies, radio, press, comic booklets, and the like. There is, to be certain, the avenue of travel such as family moves in search of work, summer vacations, hitchhiking, and casual trips. We do not have now, as was true after the First World War, the restless, roving bands of 'teen-age children on the road, a situation given classic description in Thomas Minehan's *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*. Unemployment and depression could, of course, bring back the transiency of the 1920's and 1930's, with many thousands of

young vagrants bouncing about on the path to nowhere—foot-loose, half-starved, hating the society in which they could find no place.

How small-town spokesmen view the effects of mass media influences on their children is instanced in the consensus reached by a P.T.A. panel on the problem.

A PANEL VERDICT ON MASS MEDIA

We must recognize that these media are increasingly a part of child and adult life. Each, in its own way, has a compulsive appeal to young people. Both parents and teachers agree that almost every child spends some time during every day reading the comics and listening to radio, and many children attend one to two movies per week. Parents see little positive value in these ways of spending time; in fact, they believe it is a waste of time and downright harmful to most children. Teachers agree, to some extent, with these conclusions, but they believe also that there are positive values. From these media, children learn some bits of reality, namely, how other people live, popular music, imaginative adventure, and that crime does not pay. We are all agreed that the bill of fare offered to children is the output of a profit-making industry and, in the interest of good morals and good taste, is in rather desperate need of control.

From the standpoint of child acculturation, an understanding of mass media would be sought within the larger framework of communication. Society, in John Dewey's words, not only exists in communication; *it is communication*, the common ideas and ideals, practices and expectations in which all people share.

What disturbs many parents is the fact that, even after paying for their children—and they are costly investments—youngsters do not belong to them. They belong to the street gang or school bunch, to Dick Tracy, Buck Rogers, Ted Husing, Jack Benny, Humphrey Bogart, and a host of glamour girls. They belong to soap operas, get-rich-quick quiz contests, crimebusters, disk jockeys, amateur psychiatrists, hillbilly shows, and sports broadcasts. They belong, in sum, to the nation and to whatever is the state of its life—its inanities and front-page crises, its news coverage and opinion digests, its talent shows and symphony concerts. Children are privileged to hear and see the nation putting itself together, pulling itself along. In seeing and hearing, *they learn*.

What they learn, the uses made of learning are much too complex for brief comment. No critic believes, however, that the country's genius for informing and entertaining people has been well tapped, that Superpep Toothpaste could not sell its product better by showing more concern for child growth and well-being.

SOCIALIZATION AND THE SCHOOL

The viewpoint we have presented is novel enough and in enough conflict with prevalent school views to warrant summary and review. Faced with the task of inducting immature members into its way of life, every community appears to distribute among them a great variety of roles and statuses—age roles, sex roles, and the like. These roles are simply expectations set up for young people—the types of persons they seem destined to become, the persons needed to conduct community life. Since these ascribed roles are fitted only loosely to personality potentials, another cluster of roles comes into existence, the achieved roles that depend on individual talent and effort. Under conditions of rapid social change as well as of democratic theory, the latter roles become of great importance, overlaying and changing initial status categories to the point where they are scarcely visible. All role content is learned, in part by the impact of adult culture and in part by the give-and-take of peer groupings.

In simple-stable cultures, ascribed roles could be counted upon to "place" an individual in a predictable position in the social order. With socialization largely a parental function, "like father, like son" had definite meaning. It made for continuity in a way of life, for stability in human relations. Under modern conditions, the major acculturating influences are outside the home, notably so at the adolescent stage of child life. Socialization is a job for professionals—the school teacher, occupational trainer, commercial entertainer, news writer, and so on. That it is fragmental, inconsistent, and superficial is the complaint of many informed critics, the observation of most persons who work with youth. It is in any complex-instable society a tough job to contemplate, for each individual must learn to live in a variety of roles, to participate in many groupings; yet his allegiance to the common core values of the culture must transcend his special interests else the social order itself is weakened.

It is on this latter point, the allegiance to common values, that much "progressive" educational theory seems so vulnerable. In its stress on personal freedom, a mistaken notion of need satisfaction, theorists have tended to forget or misinterpret the fact that freedom can exist only within an ordered universe, that no aviator could fly unless he acted in accordance with the laws of aerodynamics. At the opposite extreme, the traditional school, and with little theorizing, has paid lip service to common values. Its mistakes are too much commitment to authoritarian ideals, too little search for new integrative values, too great a leaning on conformity and repression, and too little stress on group relations as inciters of effective social learning.

Problems and Projects

1. What do you understand by socialization? State and criticize the theory advanced in the chapter as to how child socialization goes on. Illustrate your viewpoints.

2. What nicknames have you been called? What did each name do to your conception of yourself, that is, how did it make you feel?

3. What is your most vivid childhood memory of some bit of learning in respect to an ascribed or achieved role?

4. What is your present attitude toward clothes? Do you regard them as an evidence of class position? Why do you hold your present viewpoint?

5. Show from personal experience the part grandparents play in child socialization.

6. Read some current novel where children are allowed to grow up, and write a critical report on the book. Examples are

Henry Bellaman, *Kings Row*
James T. Farrell, *Young Lonigan*
Martin Flavin, *Journey in the Dark*
Somerset Maugham, *The Razor's Edge*

Christopher Morley, *Kitty Foyle*
Bud Schulberg, *What Makes Sammy Run*
Betty Smith, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*
John Tunis, *All American*

7. How do children grow up in other cultures? For example, Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* or *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Of what value to teachers are anthropological studies of this sort?

8. Has there ever been a time in your life when you felt yourself in revolt against your sex role? To see the conflict and demoralization

that can result from an effort to escape a sex role, read Stuart Engstrand's novel, *The Sting and the Arrow*.

9. Make a class report on one of the following topics:

"Culture and Personality," Ralph Linton, *Cultural Backgrounds of Personality*, Appleton-Century, New York, 1945.

"Parent-Youth Conflict," Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (1940), 523-532.

"The Comics," Coulton Waugh, *The Comics*, Macmillan, New York, 1947.

"Movies and Children," The Payne Fund Studies, including W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth*; Blumer and Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime*; and C. C. Peters, *Movies and the Morals*.

"Adolescent Studies as a Basis of Curriculum Reorganization," Harold Alberty, *Reorganizing the High School Curriculum*, Chap. II.

10. Organize a class committee to observe the play activities of children, and talk to their teachers about child play. Plan a panel discussion of committee findings.

11. What is meant in the chapter by "taking the role of the other"? How is this taught through team games? What bearing does it have on good citizenship?

12. A great deal can be learned about child and adult class levels by studying the games individuals like and play. For example, at what class level is bridge most commonly played? Poker? Horseshoe pitching? Tennis? Classify either child or adult games and sports into a few large categories, select representative items from each category, and make an interview study of a sample of 50 persons.

13. Prepare and hand in a personal paper descriptive of your own socialization, the really big things that have happened to you from childhood to the present time.

14. Invite three or more community representatives, for example, the President of the P.T.A., a minister, juvenile-court judge, boys' worker in social settlement, to visit class and discuss with you the influence of radio, or newspapers, or movies on young children.

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CHAPTER 11

SOCIAL CLASS IN THE SCHOOL

For many years, education has been viewed in relation to its community backgrounds, and there is no doubt as to environmental effects in shaping all aspects of school work. What is new today is the caste-class point of view as developed in the Yankee City type of research, a viewpoint that shows as clear as crystal the need for fundamental changes in many phases of the school program. Admittedly, this statement is a bit sweeping, needing a vast amount of corroborating evidence, study after study of schools. Here we shall examine in detail one school system on the assumption that other schools will have much in common with the case under inspection.

In respect to caste in education, there is no intellectual problem. This is not to say that practical problems do not exist; in fact they are in many places, north and south, very crucial. What is meant is that the issue appears quite clear. Segregated schools perpetuate color differences in our society, advantaging white children and disadvantaging others. If, therefore, caste lines are continued in the school, this is done in violation of democratic principles. No pronouncement in recent years on public education by educational leaders in the nation has supported the caste system in school or society; on the contrary, thoughtful people everywhere are trying to devise ways of eliminating caste or minimizing its effects.

The real intellectual problem is social class. Over time, a number of studies have dealt with the class structure of public schooling, the make-up of teaching personnel, the class-typed control of learning. For all this work, we can only refer the reader to an extensive literature.¹ In addition to such findings, we need

¹ For example, W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Who Shall Be Educated*, Harper, New York, 1944.

to know how status lines actually function in the school, how children learn their class positions, what class does to school progress and child personality. These are the objectives of the present chapter, and as usual the approach is via a concrete case.

YOUTH IN AND ABOUT THE SCHOOLS

Elmtown, the community selected for study, is a corn-belt county-seat town of about six thousand, not many miles from the University of Chicago. It has been chosen by the University Committee on Human Development as the site for "continuous, cooperative and interdisciplinary studies" over the next several years. Aside from a few Negroes, Orientals, and Mexicans, the population is white, with successive waves of European immigrants settling in the area from 1825 onward. Over a third of town and county employed persons are in agriculture, a fourth in manufacturing and mining, and the remainder in trades, businesses, and professions. Schools are somewhat worse off than in comparable places in the sense of lacking adequate financial support.

The focus in the study of most interest to us has been on the area's 735 adolescents, aged 13 to 19 years, about evenly divided between boys and girls.² By an intricate system of stratification, these youth were found to represent families from five class levels, upper through middle to lower, in the Warner usage of the term. Little will be said in the following account about the class system in general since our interest is adolescent life in and about the central high school.

SCHOOL AND YOUTH IN ELMTOWN

Understanding the Town. "To understand the high school," the researcher was told, "you'll have to know this town." The informant was a lifelong resident of Elmtown, a respected upper class member. "There is an aristocracy of wealth here, and a lot of poor people, and every kid in the school knows this." The speaker reviewed his own school days, the knowledge youth then had of "who was who" in the

² Case based on August B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth: Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents*, 1949. Also Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, *Adolescent Character and Personality*, 1949. Both volumes are published by Wiley, New York. Used by permission.

school, the families from which children came. "There are only three or four silk stockings in school now," members of families "with money and prestige for four generations." He described ways in which cliques got started, how they behaved toward one another, in general the means by which "they ran things."

To illustrate the lowest level of living, the informant discussed "the Soper tribe." In his opinion, this large family was "on the bottom." None of its members have ever amounted to anything. The family head has a penal record. Four sons have been in jail, and three daughters have illegitimate children. One of these girls had been in school with the speaker, though his "crowd" paid little attention to her. "She didn't even finish the eighth grade; just quit and hung around the tannery flats, mixing with men."

Much information is given in the *Elmtown Youth* volume on the nature of the adult class system. For example, occupations have a definite prestige value. They are rated in terms of the wage or income they provide, the power they give, and their moral worth. Such pursuits as banking, big business, law, medicine, etc., are highly rated in Elmtown as elsewhere, while "junking," pickup work, farm tenancy, and unskilled factory labor are lowly valued. Values transfer from a pursuit to the persons engaged in it, for instance, from garbage collection to collectors, then to members of their family, and from ancestors to descendants, so that family history is important.

Among other marks of class, the channeling of intimate associations along clique lines is of interest. Cliques, as in Yankee City, are age-graded groupings, comprising members of one to two subelass levels. Their existence and activities are well known in the community. "In our first two or three years here," said a middle class woman, "we were out of things. We were strangers and it was hard to get acquainted." She hastened to say that she and her husband had become part of a clique which met at homes, played bridge and the like. All women in the group were proud of their cooking, their housekeeping, churchgoing, and interest in civic matters. None smoked, drank, or gambled, practices which they condemned in a "fast set" with which they did not mix socially.

The Schoolboard. Local schools are run by a schoolboard the members of which come chiefly from the two upper classes. While any adult citizen in the school district may be a candidate for board election, in effect he has to be "male, Protestant, Republican, a property owner, and preferably a Rotarian." Candidates are usually hand-picked by the board president, in counsel with friends in the Rotary

Club, and only a few voters ever cast a ballot. Over the years, the board's chief concerns have been to keep school costs down and to see that teachers conform, in the classroom and outside, to the conservative views prevalent in the community.

Inadequate financial support has hampered the operation of schools for many years, leading to crisis after crisis. This state of affairs reached a climax in 1941 when the North Central Association dropped the Elmtown High School from the accredited list. For this, the superintendent was blamed, although he had repeatedly brought plant conditions, overcrowding, and the like to board attention. A new superintendent has patched up the situation as well as possible, although the per capita cost of schooling is not sufficient to meet the needs of an adequate education.

Schoolboard members do not believe that everyone should go to high school, that all youngsters can profit from such schooling. Many boys and girls in school would be better off, in their opinion, at work on farms, in factories, or mills. When the researcher suggested that academic schooling might not be the type needed for low class children, the idea was countered with the view that "vocational education" cost too much to be put into effect on a general scale. It was felt, too, that boys and girls could learn the same skills, and learn them better, from work experiences.

From attendance at board meetings over a year, interviews, and other data, the researcher concluded that these key persons in the school situation "had a highly developed sense of responsibility" for the preservation of the economic power and prestige of Elmtown's two higher classes. School policies tended to follow this line of reasoning, reflecting the class interests of board representatives.

School Personnel. In staffing the elementary schools, board policy has been to employ local girls who are professionally trained. In respect to the high school, teachers are usually from outside the community. Most teachers come from lower middle or upper lower class backgrounds, and most of them are dissatisfied with the school in which they teach or with the town. They feel frustrated by low salaries, by traditional school practices, and by community controls over their personal life and conduct. It was expected that they live in Elmtown in one of the three better residential sections, buy their groceries, clothes, cosmetics, etc. from local stores, take an active part in church and other affairs, and contribute generously to community enterprises. Only the superintendent and principal belonged to civic luncheon clubs such as the Rotary.

Under such conditions, teacher turnover is unusually high. For example, in the year the researcher lived in Elmtown, 8 of the 15 high-school teachers were new. Five had been hired the week before school opened to replace teachers who had resigned to accept positions elsewhere. Of the remaining teachers, three had been in the school a year or less, four from two to four years, and only one over four years.

Even before the "big trouble" in 1941, the superintendent was anxious to find a better situation. "On the surface, it's all very nice here, but underneath there are deep animosities. Just between you and me," the superintendent continued, "I'm going to get out." The man who took his place moved very slowly the first year. He made efforts to placate teachers, to reorganize phases of school work, and to win community approval and cooperation.

Attitudes Toward the School. As the researcher talked with adults, it became evident that their attitudes toward the schools reflected their class position. Almost all upper class people believed that the high school was more than adequate, that the community had been treated unfairly by the North Central Association. Class II persons blamed "propertied interests" for school conditions, pointing out that tax rates had been kept too low. Class III members, the lower middle class, felt that the two upper classes were responsible for school conditions. "The high school is horrible," said one spokesman. It was pointed out that halls were narrow, stairs worn-out, the place overcrowded, and, in general, a "fire trap." While sensing the need for something better, these persons felt powerless to act.

Lower class persons were unconcerned about the school. Knowing the building was old and inadequate, they did not think that something could be done. They criticized the board, the school head, and the teachers, holding that the whole system was run for the children of the three higher classes. Lower lower class people, like the Sopers, were so far removed from the main currents of community life, so much caught up in their own affairs that they took little interest in anything of a community-wide nature. They felt that their children were discriminated against by both teachers and other students, using this as an excuse to withdraw them from school and put them to work. Since few of these parents aspired to higher class status, they saw no way in which schooling could help their children.

Adolescent Socialization. Faced with the task of growing up, the adolescent in Elmtown finds himself in a confusing situation. Considering himself capable of exercising adult judgment, he finds that his parents regard him as "immature," as "just a child." Institutions

compete with one another for his time and loyalty, often working at cross purposes to further his development. Each institution—the church, school, youth groups, leisure pursuits, and the like—feels its own importance, often criticizing any competing program which is believed to undermine its own. For instance, whenever the school has a dance, play, or party in the evening, the Lutheran minister organizes a church party to keep Lutheran youth away from the school. He believes that “souls are damaged by secular pleasures.” Other ministers preach sermons against “godless educators,” asking that members of the congregation report irreligious teachings. Mills and factories offer jobs to young people and, owing to confusion in the state labor law, are able to get by with practices that are questionable.

So far as the researcher could discover, there was no coordination between the programs of the different youth-training agencies. Each had its own set of objectives and its own procedures and activities. All programs tended to center about the cultural values which middle to upper class adults cherish and preserve.

High-school Students. On any weekday morning, September to June, one can see boys and girls on the way to school. Some ride bikes, others drive cars; but mostly they walk, and rarely are they seen alone. On the south side of town, across the canal, youth come from shabby homes and tar-paper shacks. Girls outnumber boys three to one, most boys parting company with the school group on their way to work. Students here carry few books, idle along, hands dirty or stained, hair in need of a trim, clothes plain and perhaps smelly and unclean. Girls are bedecked in “five-and-ten” jewelry, carry lunch in a paper bag, and wisecrack with boys as they near the school.

From the other end of town, young people have a different appearance. Along Elm Street, they come out of impressive homes, dressed in tweeds and sweaters, hair crew-cut or in permanent waves. Several students drive cars, loading them up on the way to school. Snatches of conversation have to do with school parties and town dances, athletics and radio programs, family affairs and vacation plans, college entrance and a career.

At school, boys and girls go to different cloakrooms according to custom, with hooks and shelf space assigned for the year. Close friends have adjacent hooks, with the best facilities going to upper class youth; the worst locations to “the canal gang.” Clique associations are evident in the halls, in classrooms, and elsewhere, as students banter one another, gossip, and make plans. Group action is at its height during the noon period and again at the end of the school day.

The School Curriculum. The high school has the usual three fields of study: college preparatory, general, and commercial. Enrollment is strongly related to a student's class backgrounds. About two-thirds of upper class students in the period under study were in college preparatory work, and none were in commercial courses. Over half the middle class students were in general courses, 27 per cent in college preparatory and 21 per cent in commercial. Well over half the upper lower class students were in general courses, a third in commercial, with only 9 per cent in college preparatory. The pattern for lower lower class children was much the same as for lower upper pupils, except that there was heavier concentration in the commercial course of study.

Just as the high-school curriculum trains the great majority of its students to enter college, so the elementary schools train to enter high school. A full third of the latter pupils never reach high school, and of those who start less than half complete the four years. For the past seven years, about a third of the boys and girls who reached 18 years of age each year were graduated from high school. Less than half of the 15 to 18 per cent of these graduates who left the community for additional training entered college. In short, the high school ends formal education for four out of each five students, and yet, as we have said, it stresses a college preparatory program.

The prestige value assigned by students, their parents, and teachers to college preparatory work is seen in the comments of a senior girl: "If you take this course, you're better than students who take the general course. If you take commercial work, you don't rate at all. Kids who take college prep run the place, get the best grades and the most favors from teachers. Teachers get together and talk you over, and, if you are not going to college, you haven't much chance."

Grades and Grading. While the superintendent in his annual report disclaimed the use by teachers of a normal distribution curve, he was pleasantly "surprised" to see how nearly the total school marks approached the so-called normal curve. What his report did not show is that higher grades went to students from better off homes and lower grades to children at the other end of the social class scale.

Table 6 shows that the lower one's class position, the more likely he is to receive poor grades. This conclusion is supported in another table on failures. Of the 495 adolescents who had, in 1941, completed one or more semesters of high school, upper class children had one failure. In the middle class, there were eight failures, and, among lower class children, 63 failed to make a passing mark in their courses.

TABLE 6 DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN GRADES BY CLASS BACKGROUNDS

Class	100-85	81-70	69-50
I, II	51.4	48.6	0.0
III	35.5	63.2	1.3
IV	18.4	69.2	12.4
V	8.3	66.7	25.0
Total	23.8	66.3	9.9

A third of these failures continued in school, repeating courses, and two-thirds quit school to take jobs or "bum around."

I.Q. tests, while they show a positive correlation with school marks, do not explain fully the assignment of grades. Both grades and intelligence-test scores are correlated with class position, a point on which the complete data leave no doubt. "Behind the grades and courses and I.Q. tests," writes the researcher, "is the Elmtown social system." Upper to middle class children are trained in home living, in fact by lifelong experience, to do well on things the school values, whereas lower class youngsters find school culture, teacher rewards, etc., completely alien to the run of their everyday contacts, motivations in their homes, and their own outlook and ambitions. Growing up to these children means quitting school, getting a job, escaping adult control, doing as one pleases.

Teacher weekly reports on counseling support the above interpretations. For example, while some parents from all social classes were counseled, almost all discipline problems involved lower class parents. On the other hand, lower class parents were counseled less than were upper and middle class parents in respect to school work and grades, although the former children made the poorest marks. Most help out of class on school problems was given by teachers to middle class children rather than to lower class youngsters where, presumably, it was most needed.

Family Influences, Grades, Prizes. Elmtown parents commonly use the school to further their ambitions for their children. Upper classes assume that top honors, student offices, etc., are the natural dues of their sons and daughters, and teachers soon learn that conformity here is an easy way to avoid trouble. When implicit control of school awards does not suffice, better-off parents are not adverse to using direct pressure. For example, a high-standing family in the community or an upwardly mobile family counts very definitely on school honors for

its children. Such parents have tried to make the schoolboard dismiss teachers who were felt to rest the case on competitive ability. It is claimed that scholarships have been given because of the prominence of a student's family, that school officers are won as much or more on this basis than on any other. Discipline also takes into consideration a family's prominence, with penalties generally relaxed for Class I and II youngsters. Punishments are rigorously enforced on lower class children.

Extracurricular Activities. Extracurricular activities bring the school before the adult community on a broader front than do routine teaching functions. Athletics is by far the activity in which the public shows most intense interest, and it demands that the school hire a coach who can win games. Community pride, rather than athletic ability, sportsmanship, etc., seems to be at stake, and everyone, including the one local newspaper, *The Bugle*, takes a very dim view of failure.

Athletics attracts boys from all classes, with lower class youngsters somewhat disadvantaged in football because of their average slighter stature and in certain other sports because of time and costs. Student attendance is a class-linked matter, with half the lower class children not attending any athletic event during the year under study.

The school year is full of social events such as dances, parties, mixers, club meetings, musicals, and plays. In dancing especially, the old cleavage between the "aristocrats" and "church people" is still apparent. Lower class families oppose dancing on economic rather than moral grounds, particularly school traditions of formal dances, with their attendant expenses. The same is true for most other school functions, such as dramatic recitals, club programs, and class-day exercises.

The student council in some ways is the most important extracurricular activity in the school. In theory, its 33 members are elected from homerooms, each school class, and the school at large by secret ballot, without teacher interference or student campaigning. Actually, the election is patterned closely on public elections and with a great deal of "politiking" by school cliques and wider groupings. Two-thirds of all student council representatives over the time studied came from upper and middle class levels. Conversely, one-third were from lower class backgrounds, although these two lower classes comprised 53.7 per cent of the school population.

In a study of the 23 most popular extracurricular activities, it was found that upper class children participated heavily in these school affairs, whereas three-fourths of the lower class children took no part

at all. "Frankly," said an intelligent lower class girl, "there is nothing for us here, except going to class. We are pushed out of things. We are looked down upon. Kids from wealthy families hog all the offices. They're in all the activities, go to all the dances and things like that." She turned her palms upward, shrugged her shoulders, and smiled. "Well, why go on? We're made to feel that we are not wanted and that's the way it is."

Cliques and Dates. "The school is full of cliques," said more than one student. "Kids run in bunches, just like their parents." Cliques are normal behavior patterns for young people, their ways of doing things and going places in small, informal groupings. Such group-derived status is highly valued by most adolescents; hence the clique exerts strong control over member behavior.

In all, 259 cliques were studied in the Elmtown high school. Size ranged from 2 to 9 members for boys, 2 to 12 for girls, with 5 as the modal number for both sexes. A fourth of all the students live in the country, coming to school via bus, but only 15 cliques were composed exclusively of rural youngsters. Activities were extremely varied, including dating, recreation, casual coming and going, and a host of extraschool events, chiefly on a family basis. In general, friendships were channelized on a prestige basis, with other factors entering in. Chief among these were grade level, curriculum, residential propinquity, and individual skill and talent. Freshmen crossed status lines in their associations 4.5 times as often as seniors, suggesting that clique ties strengthen over the four school years.

Once a youngster is identified with a clique group, its reputation tends to be attached to him by other students, teachers, and community adults. "Bill is a trouble maker," said one student, "and his gang is just like him." "Bob's gang is wild," a girl wrote, "and they have rotten reps. No respectable girl will go with any of them." "They're all nice kids in Mary's bunch," or "That's a Lutheran crowd; they stick together like glue," are typical student comments.

Picnics, dances, parties, hayrides, and games are defined as date affairs at which boys and girls pair off in the customary couple arrangements. Adventuresome youngsters, usually lower class girls, begin to date when they are 12 years of age. About a fifth of all high-school girls and 15 per cent of the boys reported their first date at the age of 13, a much larger number started dating at 15, and among 16-year olds dating was common, in fact not to date marked one as "queer." Of the 553 dates recorded for one month, over half were within the same school class, that is, freshmen with freshmen, and so on. A third of

the boys' dates were with girls who were a class behind them in school, for example, sophomores with freshmen, and 31 per cent of the girls' dates were with boys ahead of them one year. Upper-class boys and girls dated largely within the student body, whereas lower class youngsters dated over half the time outside the school group.

Both intra- and interclass dating relations tend to follow clique lines in the school. Sixty-one per cent of all daters belonged to the same social class group, 35 per cent to adjacent class levels, and 4 per cent were separated by one status level. When a boy crossed a prestige line in his dating, chances were two to one that he dated a girl from a class below himself, and, reciprocally, girls who crossed lines tended to date above their family status level. Many upper to middle class parents disapproved of high-school students "keeping steady company," fearing chiefly interference with a career due to sex desires and marriage.

Jobs and Work Plans. Elmtown has relied upon adolescent labor since frontier days. Everyday language is full of terms indicative of the roles boys have played on the farm, in the mines, mills, stores, and offices—buteher boy, barge boy, engine boy, printer's devil, and so on. Girls' roles have been limited to hired girl (farm), nursemaid, barmaid, waitress, seamstress, ribbon clerk, and office girl. Although the economy has changed in the last two generations, it still depends on the labor of 'teen-age youth. Many young persons, in turn, need work to earn the money they must have in order to move ahead into adult roles. Economic hard times throw this system out of balance, leading to the kinds of conditions described in Chap. 10.

For average students, the high-school work load requires no more than an hour or two of study per week outside of school hours. This leaves them time for part-time employment, notably in retail trade and service industries. Most stores have one or more students who clerk, and many housewives use high-school girls in housework or to mind the children. Here, also, class backgrounds play a decisive part, with lower class to lower middle class adolescents spending more time in gainful work than other youth. Jobs are rated in terms of social worth much as in adult employment, waiting tables, for example, being looked down upon as a menial occupation. Again, as usual, jobs with highest prestige ratings go to youth in upper to middle class levels.

In respect to vocational plans, war and threats of war have introduced much uncertainty. In general, "if circumstances permit," about four-fifths of all Class I and II youngsters plan to enter business and the professions, a job choice which is reflected in their heavy enroll-

ment in the academic curriculum. Class III youth have somewhat similar vocational interests. A third desire to enter business and the professions, a greater gross number than at any other class level, though the percentage was less than for Class II. The most striking thing about Class V youth is the uncertainty with which they face the future. Over two-fifths expressed no vocational choice, and a large number listed highly romantic, dramatic, and freak jobs—bicycle racer, animal trainer, movie actress.

Recreational Pursuits. In Elmtown culture, some nonwork, non-school, nonchurch pursuits are defined as "recreation" and approved for youth, whereas others such as smoking, gambling, and sex play are viewed as unhealthy or immoral, hence forbidden. Adolescent activities fall into both these categories.

The clandestine pursuit of pleasure, in opposition to adult views, is furthered by a kind of conspiracy of silence on the part of adolescents. To their elders, youth deny participation in tabooed activities, at times condemn them in public ways. In their own peer groupings, they admit to a liking for these activities, often boasting of their experiences and passing on to others whatever they have learned. To inform on a companion is a most serious offense, one that leads to general loss of prestige and expulsion from clique groups.

Over three-fourths of the boys and not quite a third of the girls said that they smoked, mostly in clique associations and on dates. Gambling was confined largely to small bets on games, to pool playing, and slot machines. Drinking was almost always away from home and was relatively slight except at older age levels. Moderate drinking without getting drunk was felt to be "the mark of a man," hence was done by boys to impress their peers with the fact that they had grown up.

Membership and participation in approved recreational groups are open, in theory, to any boy or girl in specified age ranges. Actually, such organizations as the Scouts and Campfire Girls draw heavily from the better off socioeconomic levels. Motion-picture attendance, by contrast, is much greater for Class IV to V 'teen agers. Reading, aside from comics and picture magazines, was not an important leisure pursuit for any adolescent group. Bowling was as popular with upper class children as roller skating was at lower class levels.

Religious Beliefs and Practices. Formal religious training for most 'teen agers begins in Sunday School at ages 4, 5, or 6 years. As a rule, religion is identified with a particular denomination and a denomination with a local church group. From the standpoint of social class, the

lower the class level the less the participation of youth in church affairs and the more the church is regarded as a kind of community facility rather than something special or supernatural. Church youth groups are most popular with upper to middle class adolescents, especially with girls. All ministers are concerned with the "loss" of so many of their young people. "The young people are beyond me," said the Baptist pastor. "I have a small group of active youngsters. Most of the high-school kids, though, seem to have no interest in the church or what it stands for." Adolescents, in questionnaire studies, are indifferent toward church religious services, especially preaching, but are interested in social activities.

Out-of-school Adolescent. Of the 735 adolescents studied, 345 were not enrolled in school. About three-fourths of these had left school before the legal age of 16 and, with few exceptions, were not holding work permits. Table 7 shows the close positive relation between the adolescent's class position and his school situation.

TABLE 7. CLASS POSITION AND SCHOOL CONTINUATION OR DROPOUT

Class	In school		Out of school	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
I	4	100.0	0	00.0
II	31	100.0	0	00.0
III	116	92.4	12	7.6
IV	183	58.7	129	41.3
V	26	11.3	201	88.7

Upper to middle class homes stress the things that formal education offers—book learning, manners, associates, preparation for a career, and so on, and in countless ways the home reinforces the ideals and practices of the school. At lower class levels, the situation is quite the opposite. Home culture and life experience differ from the middle class values taught at school. Children aspire to roles and statuses toward which schooling seems to contribute very little. Moreover, at school they are punished for their indifference to schoolwork, their language, dress, and behaviors. Presently, discouraged, they start playing truant and become "discipline cases." Often after a crisis of some kind or other, they reach the decision to drop out. Family heads approve or are indifferent, owing in part to their own low educational level, their semiskilled work, and other factors.

The Elmtown studies were designed to test the idea that the behaviors of adolescents in and about school, their continuous acculturation, were related in functional ways to the positions their families occupied in the class structure of a small Mid-western town. In detailed ways, this hypothesis was confirmed. Class backgrounds were a consistently important determinant of schoolboard policy, adolescent attitudes, group participation, school progress, teacher rewards, and so on, so much so that one marvels at the lack of incentive and opportunity provided young people at lower class levels. One can understand why they dropped out of school or were dropped by the school at the earliest possible opportunity. Presumably, such conditions are more or less common throughout the nation, hence the importance of going still further with the problem of class biases in education.

THE CONCEPT OF EDUCABILITY

The problem raised by the Elmtown case or rather by the widespread operation of social class in public schooling can best be studied under the general concept of educability. Important elements can be focused in terms of a schematic diagram.

Figure 25 has been constructed from college student papers on "changes needed in public schools." Most papers dealt with the A type of school, the so-called average school, and how pupil educability could be improved. Some papers proposed radical changes, *i.e.*, the B type of school, such as no set courses, no grades, complete freedom, etc. Other papers we have put under an A-B heading, somewhat novel yet in theory possible changes in present practices. We shall discuss educability in the A type of school and then conclude the chapter with some of the changes needed in this average school.

EDUCABILITY IN AVERAGE SCHOOLS

It is possible, as Tyler³ points out, to think of persons who are educable but for whom schools have failed as yet to devise good educational programs. This is not, however, the current meaning of *educability*. What it means, simply, is not educational

³ Ralph W. Tyler, "Educability and the Schools," *Elementary School Journal*, 49 (1948), 200-212.

potential as such but rather the ability to learn as measured by school achievement. This brings into question the fundamentals of our public-school system—the goals which schools set up, the ways of learning they provide, the rewards and punishments, the psychological characteristics used to predict learner success, hence to advance or fail pupils.

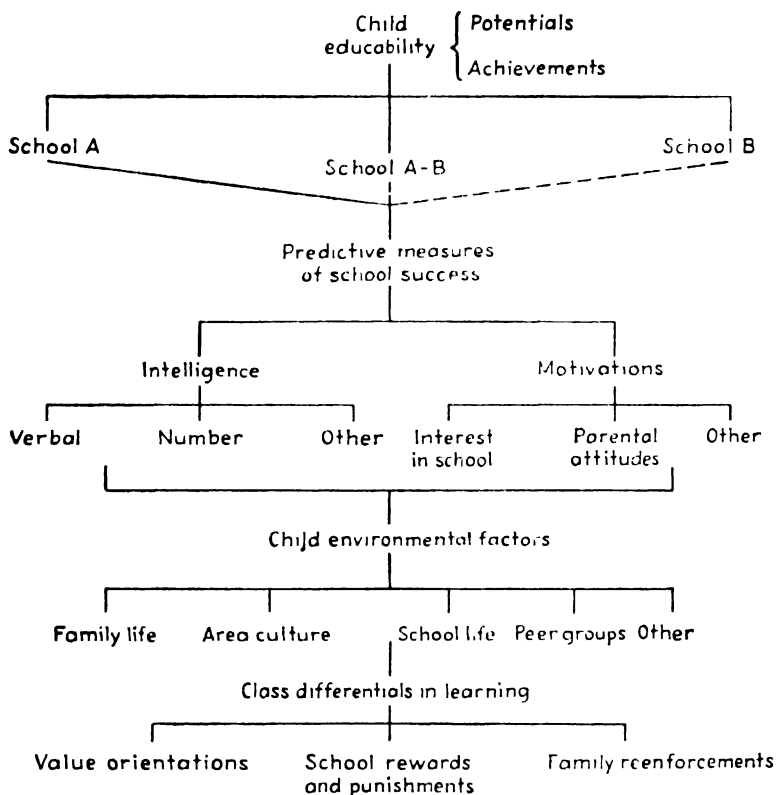


FIG 25. Outline for discussion of educability in average (A), idealistic (B), and A-B types of schools.

In the present A-type school, the average school, the principal *predictive measure of pupil success*, or educability as indicated by grades, is the intelligence test. Over the past fifty years, thousands of studies have been made of the results of these tests. In general, it is known that of all the kinds of pupil behaviors measured by intelligence tests the use of words is most closely

related to school progress. The mean correlation between verbal intelligence and school marks is about 0.50, a figure reached by no other type of intelligence test. Research has also showed that the ability to handle number relations, the so-called "quantitative factor" in intelligence, has some positive correlation with a pupil's school progress. While other "factors of intelligence," such as a perception of spatial relations, problem solving as a measure of reasoning, and so on, have been studied, none appears to have high predictive value in determining pupil success.

Ability to do schoolwork and interest in school are, of course, different factors. Of all types of *child motivation* only interest in school, that is, the will, desire, or ambition to do good schoolwork, has been shown to bear a significant relation to school success. With I.Q. scores held constant, correlation between interest in schoolwork and school grades is almost always positive, averaging about 0.30. Motivation can be measured by the time a child reaches grades 4 or 5, and, curiously, it tends to show little or no change over successive school years. Interest is also a predictive factor of value in forecasting the years a learner will continue in school. For instance, the major differences between students who go on to college and those who drop out of school after graduation are income of parents (plus, presumably, parental attitudes) and interest in schoolwork.

With these facts before us, let us move on to their interpretation. In the beginning, if the phrase will do, intelligence, motivation, and the like were viewed as inborn characteristics of personality, developmental over time, yet relatively fixed for life; and early predictive studies were based on these assumptions. The major mistake in this psychological approach was its astounding indifference to *environmental backgrounds*, the shaping influences exerted on biological potentials by the culture in which the person was reared. The point is very important and illustrations will be used to make it clear.

Motivation, for example, is known through research to be primarily an acquired characteristic, acquired from a variety of environmental sources. Family life, parental attitudes, area conditions, peer-level associations, school experiences, teacher rewards, and so on are all prime motivational factors. Concretely, if parents regard the school as a means by which their children

can succeed, if they place emphasis on school attendance, grades, deportment, and the like, chances are better than two to one that children will succeed at school. The fact that motivation tends to remain constant for individuals from about the fourth grade on is not due to any biological mechanism, any innate capacity the limits of which have been reached. It is due, on the contrary, to the constancy of environmental pressures, the insistence and encouragement that a child do well in his schoolwork.

Intelligence tests provide an even better example of environmental effects. Almost all psychologists who have made careful studies agree that differences in the opportunity to learn provided by differential backgrounds result in differential achievements on intelligence tests. The more the school subject matter contained in the test, the greater the difference in scores will be. Moreover, I.Q. scores can be changed experimentally by altering the total environment or even specific aspects of a life situation such as diet, home backgrounds, or peer associates.

All of the above has been known for some years and, in many places, has measurably altered school goals and practices. What is new today are further developments in this line of thinking, important findings which have come from recent, more exact study of the learner's experiential backgrounds. The first new insight involves *class differentials in learning situations*. After an exhaustive testing program, Davis⁴ concluded that the vocabulary tests most often used as standard intelligence tests show that "the average 9 or 10 year old child of highest socioeconomic status did as well as the average 13 or 14 year old youngster of the lowest social class group. On the average, children of highest social status in upper elementary grades are about four years advanced over those of lowest status in their vocabulary knowledge."

Eells⁵ and Murray⁶ have shown that over three-fourths of all

⁴ Allison Davis, *Social Class Influences Upon Learning*, p. 81. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1948.

⁵ Kenneth W. Eells, *Social Status Factors in Intelligence-test Items*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948.

⁶ Walter I. Murray, *The Intelligence-test Performance of Negro Children of Different Social Class*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1947.

items in the most widely used intelligence tests differentiate middle class from lower class children, with the former making much the higher average marks. These tests are sharply class biased. They are, first of all, built out of the experiences of middle class persons, the kinds of problems, sensitivities, and skills which children in such homes would be expected to encounter as a matter of course in everyday life. They are largely verbal in character, with all types of language usage being a valued skill in middle class homes. Finally, tests have been validated in terms of school marks. Put otherwise, items have been discarded which did not show high correlation with the grade progress of subjects who answered the questions correctly, that is, by using largely answers of middle class children. This procedure has greatly increased test validity but at the cost of making it difficult or impossible for lower class children, whatever their native endowments, to make high marks. Their experiences at home, on the streets, at work, and so on have not entered into school testing patterns.

In summary, the A-type schools of the nation are academic, class-biased educational institutions. They are organized by policy decisions, by explicit goals, I.Q. scores, curricula, classroom practices, teacher rewards, etc., plus obvious and unrelenting community pressures, to advance middle to upper class children. In so doing, they neglect or ignore the experiential learnings, the everyday practical experiences, the kinds of nonacademic talent to be found in lower class children. There is one great peak in the school, one road to success, namely, academic achievement, whereas there could be several peaks, each conferring status on any who can climb it. Since lower class children form two-thirds or more of any average school population, we can only conclude with Tyler that the typical public school "is doing an unimaginative educational job."

SCHOOL'S ATTITUDE TOWARD SOCIAL CLASS

One can scarcely accept democratic values and not reject the caste system, a generalization that cannot be so readily made for social class. While caste and class both lead to differential treatment of large numbers of people, the first on the ground of color

and the second on that of status, the law in general prohibits the one whereas it sanctions the other. Put otherwise, the American class system is extralegal. It rests on custom, on general acceptance, on its efficacy as an expression of dominant values in the culture; hence any effort to abolish class lines would have to proceed without the help of law. It could not count upon the enforcement of present laws or the passage of new laws.⁷ It could be undertaken only if educators and the public were convinced that class discriminations are harmful to citizens, thus contrary to democratic ideals.

What, now, briefly summed up, are the realities of the situation? Social class is an integral part of our society, a scheme of conferring prestige on people which results in a stratified social order. Order, per se, is imperative in any kind of social system; in fact it is the essence of system. The issue does not involve, therefore, the presence or absence of order, but rather the kind of order most compatible with the democratic principles to which our society at large is committed.

While class is not prohibited by law—in fact law protects property rights and other attributes of the class-status system—the law also specifies that all individuals are entitled to equal rights as citizens, equal protection under the law, equal moral obligations and responsibilities toward the common weal. Thus, we face what would seem to be a significant contradiction.⁸ While freedom, the idealistic goal of a competitive enterprise economy, is possible only within a framework of defined limits, *the class system distributes opportunities and privileges unequally*, disadvantaging the masses of people. In so far as this is based on the unequal worth of these people, their inferior talent, it could in democratic theory find justification. But precisely the opposite is generally true. Class ratings are based for the most part on what can only be called irrelevant characteristics—family lineage, inherited wealth, good manners, associates, clique behaviors, and the like, irrelevant from the standpoint of

⁷ In Europe in the "estate system" after feudalism, upper class values were deeply written into the law.

⁸ For the best statement in print, see Gunnar Myrdal, *The American Dilemma*, 2 vols., Harper, New York, 1944.

an individual's actual worth (economic, moral, etc.) and his potential contributions to national life and culture.

To the extent that the class system is undemocratic, the school is obliged to do whatever lies within its power to alter the system. It cannot, for example, continue to ignore the local social situation, to act as if class lines did not exist, nor can it, in ignorance of consequences, educate children to fit into these rating patterns.

CONTROL OF CLASS BIASES

One thing a school might try to do is to put its own house in order, to control expressions of class bias within the school. Explicit proposals are hard to make because of variability in school situations. Eight general suggestions seem in order and they can be read as a partial definition of the A-B school discussed earlier.

SOME CORRECTIVES FOR CLASS BIASES

1. *Broader educational goals.* With life infinitely varied, the search for talent in schools should occur on every conceivable front. It is not enough to develop verbal skills. Other abilities are important—craft-work, emotional sensitivities, dramatic arts, group leadership, and so on. If such goals were central in a school program, the basis for rating pupil success would be greatly enlarged and lower class children would have a fairer competitive chance to express themselves, to win group approval and teacher reward.

2. *The learning process should make use of modern means of communication and interaction.* There is no excuse, other than tradition and inertia, for confining instruction to "the recitation method." With little or no added expense, use can be made of audio-visual materials, activity plans, community trips, and laboratory experiences. Again, lower class children would profit. They would have a choice of media in which to communicate experiences. They could practice skills demanded in modern living which their environment, in contrast to that of middle class children, does not encourage, even penalizes.

3. *The life experiences of all children* rather than those of a favored few *should be made the basis of discussion, analysis, and testing.* Every effort should be made to discover the concrete experiential backgrounds from which each child starts his schooling, ideals of cleanliness or dirt, good language or bad, fighting or not fighting. Such behaviors must be understood as normal within the universe where they occur,

a symbol of group identification and of definite survival value to the individual.

4. *To change pupil behaviors in line with middle class values involves*, first of all, *changes in perceptions*, in the way things look and what they mean, and next, repeated opportunity to practice new behaviors and extend their applications. Thus education in basic matters cannot be hurried. Its initiation must be a voluntary act on the part of a learner, a feeling of inadequacy and a desire to improve. Teachers may have to settle for less than they had hoped for, thus reducing their own impatience with nonlearners, mostly lower class children.

5. *Children should be better motivated.* As implied throughout the chapter, class-biased schools place far too much emphasis on punishment as a motivator of desired behaviors, for example, threat of grade failure, withholding of praise, inciting well-behaved children to censor a deviant. Few persons learn well under punishment, usually meeting aggression with counteraggression, which explains many behaviors of lower class children. Wherever possible, motivations should be positive, warm, friendly, and consistent, which means that the area of "the possible" must be greatly extended by average middle class teachers. They must find things to praise in lower class children, to build relations with them which will let education take place.

6. *Group-process education*, while only one of various approaches, *offers much to teachers as a technique for effecting changes in human relations.* Lower class children in particular are notable "trouble makers," a normal response to the frustrations they suffer. More than most children, they need to experience the emotional satisfactions that come with group participation, the assurance of being liked, wanted, and valued in groupings of their own choice. They need to respond to normal group controls, to help in guiding group action, to learn the rules of fair play by which all democratic groupings are run.

7. A program of parental education or, better said, of *public relations* must go hand in hand with any fundamental effort by the school to inculcate middle class values in lower class children, for otherwise the best of teaching will come to naught. New ways of working with parents, individually and in groups, new procedures for interpreting the school to community must be found, a point to which we shall return in a later chapter.

8. *Much less emphasis should be put upon current intelligence tests*, especially verbal tests, as a basis of predicting school success; in fact their general use might well be curtailed until fairer, unbiased tests are made and standardized. Researchers are at work on this problem,

and new-type tests are already being issued for experimental use. Other means of pupil appraisal, for example, anecdotal records, attitude tests, friendship charting, projective tests, etc., give a wider array of evaluative data. Along with background studies, they should become a standard part of the school program.

Aside from its incompleteness, an objection to the outline might be its implicit acceptance of middle class values as a general basis for public-school work. To this criticism we must plead guilty, for no other pattern of values seems to offer more for the enrichment of life in our country, the development of effective citizenship and social unity. This is not to say that middleclass values are uniformly acceptable or that the present social class system should not be changed. On the contrary, specific changes are needed, as indicated in the outline and elsewhere in the volume.

Outside the school, school officials have a public-relations job to do, a well-considered adult-education program which would acquaint the community with its own status system, the national ideals of equality, the gains and losses that come to all elements of the population in an increasingly rigid class order. Much debate turns on school effectiveness in transforming the social order of which it is a constituent part. In our opinion, this is not the real issue. The question of greater importance is what the school is trying to do, what turn of the road it is willing to take, the social values for which it stands. Better operational methods can be devised as our goals become clear.

Problems and Projects

1. Some students take the stand that this is the most debatable chapter in the entire volume. Do you agree or disagree? Why?

2. Of all that was said about class biases in the Elmtown schools, what do you regard as the four most important points? Explain your answer.

3. Appoint a committee from your class to gather up examples of standard intelligence tests and to study these tests for their class views and values. Use concrete test items to illustrate committee findings in a report to the class.

4. How does the Elmtown High School compare with the one from

which you were graduated in respect to the curriculums offered, enrollment in these curriculums, grades, continuation in school, and dropouts?

5. Arrange a full-period symposium or round table on the major points made by Warner *et al.* in *Who Shall Be Educated?* Are these conclusions generally true of the schools you know best? Illustrate your answers.

6. What should be the viewpoint of public education toward caste in American life? Toward social class? State reasons in each case for the conclusions you have reached.

7. Make a 10-minute talk to class on either of the following articles, stating the author's main points and your reactions:

"Has the Middle Class a Future?" Margaret Mead, *Survey Graphic*, 31 (February, 1941), 64-74.

"Educating for a Classless Society," James B. Conant, *Atlantic Monthly*, 165 (May, 1940), 593-602.

8. Arrange a sociodrama in which a small number of teachers talk over some lower class boy or girl who has been giving them trouble. What is there about the pupil which they do not like? How, in their thinking, did the child get this way? Why can't he, or won't he, learn? What would they like to do with him? After these scenes are run, show in other scenes another way of thinking about the pupil and his future.

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CHAPTER 12

TOWARD LIFE-CENTERED SCHOOLING

Any school program designed for the best interests of our society must meet at least five tests of fitness. It must have a socially realistic content, a series of learning experiences growing out of community life and directed toward its improvement. It must be democratic in its human relations, doing all that is possible to see that people treat people in terms of personal worth and growth potentials. It must make use of the most productive teaching-learning methods; therefore, it must continuously appraise the effectiveness of its work and planning. It must, finally, change as the times change, keeping itself adjustable to new needs and conditions.

One cannot, in a chapter, touch upon all these elements; in truth their study is a function of the volume as a whole. Here interest will center on two fundamentals: the content of education and human relations in the school. The two, of course, overlap considerably; yet in theory a school might show realistic course content and poor human relations. Our concern is still with viewpoint rather than method, for clear, compelling points of view have a way of finding or making methods and procedures appropriate to their expression.

THE COMMUNITY-SCHOOL IDEA

Much of what we are looking for can be brought together under the concept of "the community school." To safeguard thought once more, we do not view this kind of school as something different and apart from public education. On the contrary, the idea represents a trend in modern schooling, a direction in which some schools everywhere are moving. Cases in Chap. 1 suggested the specific content of these schools as represented in a small sample, and we shall not present further case

material here. Judging chiefly from work over the years in such schools, any school can be called a community school to the extent that it operates along somewhat the following lines.¹

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

1. Regards education as a lifelong process, rather than in terms of present school-age years, available to every citizen at public cost.
2. Conceives its basic function as meeting the life-needs of learners, with need defined in reference to democratic values and growth potentials.
3. Educates youth by providing experiences in the full range of life-activities, stressing especially the use of intelligence and group action in problem solving.
4. Conducts the school as a functional community, a democratic system of human relations in which every participant is valued and treated in terms of personal worth.
5. Views the teacher as a manager of the group learning process, exhibiting the kinds of group work and technical skills which this implies.
6. Makes the local community an object of special study, accepting as the chief measure of the school's worth its ability to improve the area's way of living.
7. Uses local community resources to educate for life at home and "abroad," ever conscious of our increasingly complex and inter-dependent world.
8. Serves as a community center for youth and adult groups and cooperates actively with agencies interested in the care and well-being of young people.
9. Develops scientific and systematic appraisals of its work as seen in changes in learners, in home living, community conditions, and agency services.

"A great deal is said," writes the author of *Community Schools in Action*, "in calling a school a community school." On this, John Dewey² comments: "If a school lives up to that name, everything is said." No school in Chap. 1, in truth no school known to the authors, "lives up" fully to the above definition,

¹ See Lloyd Allen Cook and Edward G. Olsen, "School and Community," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 1949. Includes 52-item bibliography.

² In the "Foreword" to Elsie R. Clapp, *Community Schools in Action*, p. vii. Viking, New York, 1939.

although many approach it in measurable degrees. The intention was to define the core of an emergent functional education, to create from data gathered on many schools a type of "life-centered" schooling which can be corrected as research accumulates. We shall discuss briefly each point in the definition.

CLARIFYING INTENDED MEANINGS

1. In conceiving schooling as a *life process*, the meaning is that every individual from early infancy to senescence should have the opportunity at public expense to further his learning. Where studies have been made, opposition to this viewpoint comes chiefly in respect to school costs. Whether the answer is higher tax rates, or Federal aid, or part payment by students, the extension of education to younger and older age levels is occurring. Whatever form this education may take, the trend itself is a definite characteristic of community-centered schooling.

2. By *meeting the needs of learners*, attention is focused on the most distinctive feature of the community school, the practice of helping to solve through education the "persistent life-problems" of students, for example, making a living, keeping well, using leisure, being a citizen, and the like. Everywhere some conception of "developmental tasks," the functions young people would perform had they never gone to school, is central in curriculum planning. It is this characteristic of the community education which has led it to be called "a practical schooling."

3. On assumption that we learn what we live or much of what is lived, the schools under discussion rely heavily upon *experience* as a teacher. Whether experience is direct and perceptual or indirect and vicarious, experiential learning differs in measurable ways from academic education. It stresses especially *skill training* in problem solving, the use of intelligence in concrete life-situations to further cooperative action.

4. By viewing the above point from another angle, the community school becomes sensitive to its own internal life. Its primary aim is not to individualize instruction, other than in rather special cases. Its basic objective is to *socialize the learning process* by creating in classrooms and in the school as a whole

a *democratic community* where every person in and through participation can learn the common core values on which organized society appears to rest.

5. With human relations regarded as significant, the teacher role is chiefly but not exclusively that of *managing the group process* in the interest of all its members. Among the teacher's professional concerns are the nature of school groupings, group shaping of personality, and uses of the group for the education, motivation, and control of its members.

6. To make a difference in the way people live, a school must make its *local community an object of concern and study*. It must interest itself in primary needs—food, clothing, and shelter, and in many less tangible values and incentives. It will measure its social worth in terms of its ability to improve over time the “goodness” of living for all people.

7. Adaptation to locality can obviously go too far. To escape a narrow provincialism, a tribalistic view of an expanding world, the community school must learn better to use the local area and its resources to *educate for life in any democratic community*. It must teach for carry over, as well as for immediate use, projecting learner sensitivities into increasingly larger frames of action, from the purely local to the international.

8. Community schools are *centers of community life*, depending on opportunities and circumstances. Nonpolitical, nonreligious groups meet at the school, attend “classes,” and use its facilities. In many places, the school has come to be regarded as a civic center, a public service institution for the area's social, educational, and recreational uses. It cooperates actively with governmental and voluntary sociocivic agencies interested in community improvement. For cities of 10,000 and over, this may take the form of an area “council,” while in smaller places coordination tends to be informal and spontaneous.

9. While community schools have been weak in *self-appraisal*, one senses at present a strong movement toward the collection of *factual data* on a broad range of educational objectives, including craftwork, emotional sensitivity, and community service. Changes in learners, in addition to knowledge, include *attitudinal outcomes* and overt behaviors. Some schools make con-

tinuous studies of pupil home backgrounds, time uses, community conditions, and agency services. All schools need technical help in study making.

THE SCHOOL AS A HOLDING INSTITUTION

It would be unwise to move away from the conception of education as stated without giving a sketchy account of its sociological and philosophical backgrounds. One element in this picture, a direct product of our change from primary to secondary modes of living, has to do with the way junior and senior high schools have become child-holding institutions.

Impressed with the idea that everybody goes to high school, it comes as a mild shock to realize the recency of mass high-school attendance. During the 50 years ending in 1940, secondary-school enrollments just about doubled each decennial period. In 1938, an all-time peak was reached, with 6.7 million youth in high school, which was about 70 per cent of all boys and girls of that school age. This peak was held until 1941, when the wartime decline set in. In 1944 to 1945, 5.5 million youth were enrolled in secondary schools, with 17.6 million in elementary schools. Thus, anything approaching universal acceptance of the high-school idea lies well within the past two decades.

In the primary community throughout our history, there was need for no more than a "trifling amount" of formal schooling. "A great deal of education was going on," writes a schoolmaster³ of past times, "but little of it had anything to do with my school." Knowledge was a prerogative of the few, not a concern of the many who could pick up most of what they needed to know in the course of daily living.

For children of the horse-and-buggy era, there was no idle time, no idle hands. As soon as his legs were long enough, a boy became a worker in the fields, a girl a worker in the home. As children grew older, they tried themselves out on more difficult tasks, assuming in turn a succession of roles as they moved through adolescence into adulthood. Socialization was as nat-

³ Boyd H. Bode, "Education and Social Change," *Progressive Education*, 11 (1934), p. 45.

ural, as inevitable, as physical and mental maturation. The process was not, it may be repeated, a responsibility of the school. Life itself took care of youthful education, supplemented by a limited schooling.

As our center of living shifted from rural to urban, the cityward drift of young people reached startling proportions. In 1820, for example, 70 per cent of all gainful workers were in farming; in 1940, a scant 18 per cent. From 1910 to 1930, all workers increased from 38 to 53 million, a gain of 40 per cent, while those in agriculture decreased from 12.5 to 8.5 million, a loss of 30 per cent. Each year from 1910 onward, around 1.2 million rural youth became 15 years of age, and of these two-fifths were potential migrants. With urban industry since 1939 swept by peaks and panics, unemployment figures in some years have run as high as 10 million. Thus our society in its immediate past has had to face the problem of an excess of young people.

For the most part, society's reaction has been to dot the land with high schools, a typical middle class solution of the youth problem. So far, perhaps, so good, but here as educators we faced a choice and made a wrong decision. Instead of fitting the school to the needs of an increasingly heterogeneous student body, the old school was kept pretty much intact. Students were faced with a schooling that had little or no relevancy to their present and future living. Unlike elementary education, where school adaptation has long been a cardinal principle, *the high school became the caretaker for an idle 'teen-age population.*

In retrospect, this failure to solve an urgent social problem seems very understandable. Time was when the sum of knowledge was not great. An educated man, that is, a professional man, or a gentleman of leisure, was expected to know classical languages, rhetoric, logic, the classics, some art and music, good manners, and perhaps a foreign tongue. These subjects, taken from our European heritage, were the basis of the liberal-arts college and in time became the core of the high-school college-preparatory curriculum. This course of study was not ill-adapted to the favored few, for they did not expect Cicero, Mills, or Beethoven to help them meet practical problems in

everyday living. They entered life above and beyond the grind of sweat labor, the rough and ready existence of so-called common people.

For the masses of young people, the sons and daughters of "farmers, shopkeepers, and mechanics," the case was different. Subjects taught in school made no sense in terms of their ways of living. Why, then, did they go to school? For one thing, they were sent; parents had found in education a ladder to higher status, a way of projecting their aspirations on children. Second, there was nothing else for youngsters to do, no jobs for pay, no way to get on with normal steps in living. Thus the high school came largely to fill a gap in the nation's shift from primary to secondary modes of living, to provide custodial care for youth until they could be absorbed into the social system. That it kept them out of worse places, taught some things of value, and provided a socializing experience does not alter the essential facts in the case.

THE PLIGHT OF YOUTH

Perspective can be further sharpened by reflecting on recent crises in our history, for instance the years of 1929 to 1939. Born, many of them, in a world then at war, boys and girls during those times were destined to live through the nation's most severe economic maladjustment and to bear the brunt of its four-year war effort. Unwanted as workers, unfitted or uninterested in an academic education, they were—until war came—the lost generation. A great deal was known about them, for they had been studied beyond the lot of any other generation.

SAMPLE FINDINGS FROM TWENTY YOUTH SURVEYS: 1932 TO 1939¹

1. One in four youth (1939) will be rejected for army service owing to physical defects; one in two have bad teeth, one in five eye defects; one in ten has never had a physical examination.
2. One adolescent in ten in the sample studied (1,000) had a serious

¹Lloyd Allen Cook, "Reorganizing School Programs in Relation to Socio-economic Changes," in W. C. Reavis (Ed.), *Administrative Adjustments Required by Socio-Economic Change*, pp. 35-49, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941.

- personality defect; one in twenty, for the nation as a whole as of 1937, will spend some time in a mental hospital.
3. For half a decade (1938), half the youth out of school and looking for work have been unable to find a job. Three-fourths of those at work on farms will be let go this year or next summer unless we go to war.
 4. Half the employed youth in Maryland (1936) were paid less than \$13 a week; nine-tenths working in factories disliked their job, and those wanting in professions were five times more than could possibly be absorbed.
 5. Average income (1932) for the lowest third of American families was less than \$500 per year, a sum too low to maintain a minimal comfort level of living, especially in urban areas.
 6. Farm families, with only 9 per cent of the nation's income in 1930, reared a third of the nation's children. In the southwestern division of states, about 5 million youth lived on farms, but their parents received only 2 per cent of the national income.
 7. The CCC and NYA have never at any time (1939) been able to provide assistance for more than a fifth of the nation's 'teen-age youngsters in need of financial help.
 8. Three out of four Maryland non-school youth had no club (or similar) group membership. In rural areas, 9 youth out of 10 belonged to no social group aside from church. Youth in urban slum areas were seldom reached by Scouts, etc., whereas favored sections showed a multiplicity of competing youth agencies.
 9. About half the middle 'teen-age boys and girls (1937) got whatever sex information they had from age-level associates. Half will probably come to regard their marriage as a mistake, and one in six is destined to seek a divorce.
 10. A third of all persons arrested (1938) were under 25 years of age, with arrest rates peaking at ages 18 to 20. If war comes, delinquency rates will lower to ages 14 to 16, increase sharply in amount, and center around sex offenses.
 11. In 5 southern states (1936), less than a tenth of the Negro youth of high-school age were in school, with the per capita cost of Negro education in 11 of these states less than a fourth the cost for whites.
 12. Less than half the ninth-grade pupils in New York State (1939), where per capita costs are highest, will finish high school. Less than 2 in 10 will go to college; yet college entrance requirements dominate the secondary curriculum.

These were the facts, and, in all restraint, they add up to a sorry picture. Aside from health needs and school maladjustments, the most impressive survey findings relate to cultural blockings. Adolescents could not get on with the business of living because they could not find paid jobs, an absolute prerequisite to adult status in a monetary culture. Boys and girls loafed about, ran the streets, got into trouble, wasted time at school, or made plans which they could not hope to follow.

Youth survey findings can be supplemented by studies that have continued into the present period. These researches show several things worth remembering. One is the ignorance of young people about their own community, another their lack of normal participation in peer and adult groupings, and the third their deep feeling of frustration. For example, in a test on "community knowledge" given to 3,500 New York State high-school students, one in five Seniors could not give the approximate size of his home town, one in three the number of churches, and less than half the size of the average family.⁵ When this test was repeated with Chicago Heights ninth- to twelfth-grade students, only a third of the eleventh graders knew where to secure a marriage license and less than two-thirds an auto license.⁶ On the test as a whole, there was no reliable increase in knowledge from the ninth to the twelfth grade; in truth ninth graders on the average knew more about their communities than did Seniors almost ready to vote their decisions on public issues.

From all evidence at hand, it can be concluded that no young people in our history have been so detached from their culture, so thwarted in normal processes of community identification as those maturing in the immediate past and current present. Times are better than they were in the 1930's, but there is no reason to be unduly optimistic. Barring war, in which we would again be the world's arsenal, its food basket and source of funds, hard times have a way of recurring. In noneconomic phases of culture, for instance, in citizenship and family living, all age

⁵ Howard Wilson, *Educating for Citizenship*, pp. 41-49, New York Regents' Inquiry, McGraw-Hill, 1938.

⁶ *The School and the Community*, pp. 30-31, Boards of Education, Chicago Heights, Districts 170 and 206, 1942.

levels are much in need of assistance. Any way one looks at the future, there is no escaping society's obligation to find something to do with its millions of young people, some better pattern of life and schooling. It is this urgent matter rather than any abstract theory which has led us to advance the idea of life-centered learning.

A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE-CENTERED LEARNING

"Philosophy," Dewey once said, "is concerned with what men should do, how they should act. . . . It must keep pace with life, change with the times." So with thought on school purposes, the direction education should take. To trace the course of educational philosophy cannot be attempted; yet a few landmarks will show the type of thought underlying the community school's present conception of its functions.

In the beginning, if the phrase will do, formal education was the product of the genius—the best minds, the great books, the highly talented. As W. W. Charters has said, "Nothing was too good for children. We awaited the voice of authority and added what was said to the curriculum." This led to the kind of school we have described, the traditional school, with its subject-centered curriculum. It was this school that Horace Kallen had in mind when he wrote that "all education had ever done to culture is to transmit it."

About the time of the French Revolution Rousseau published *Émile*, a tedious story but exciting in its implications. What *Émile*'s creator seemed to say was this: watch the child, see what he is like; get out of his way, and let him grow. In recent times and by steps that cannot be detailed, this viewpoint became the philosophical basis of progressive education. To it have been added psychological concepts, chiefly the ideas of individual differences, child growth patterns, and distinctive kinds of talents. That Rousseau's views are still influential can be seen by inspecting current pronouncements. "Abandon any idea of educating for adult life," said a P.E.A. convention speaker. "Let youngsters live for today—follow their own interests, express their own purposes. Today is just as important in their life as any day can ever be."

In 1859, Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. The thought advanced seems now, in retrospect, very simple: a thing is or becomes what it does. Put in other words, the functions of organic forms determine their structures, not the reverse as then supposed. By inference, the same is true of social forms, including the school. This was the beginning of "functionalism" in education, an effort to structure schooling around the "functions of living" in both a present and future sense. These "functions," now better known as "needs" and "developmental tasks," were to be inferred from two sources: experiences of children plus a conception of their successive roles in community life and culture. The unit of work became that of "persistent problems," "life situations," or "felt concerns," with "interests" in the role of an exciter or motivator of learning.

Functionalism in education has had three marked effects. First, it helped to get extreme progressivism out of a bad hole. As Bode⁷ has so often argued, "The purposes of education cannot be found in the child." Counts⁸ expressed the same idea more sharply when he charged that the progressive movement "lacked social orientation. It has elaborated no theory of social welfare, unless it be that of anarchy or extreme individualism." To the extent that these criticisms have been heeded, the doctrine of "interests" has been modified to take into account the goals held by society for the growth and development of children.

Second, functionalism spread into traditional schools. Subjects were taught "with application to life." That this application has not been thorough has been the burden of much writing. "Our students," Judd⁹ remarks, "are not provided with concrete ideas related to their everyday experiences. They do not recognize the subjects as taught as in any way related to their behavior or to their present and future interests." This was the point of the preceding section, the reference to the high school as a child-holding institution.

⁷ Bode, "The Concept of Need in Education," *Progressive Education*, 15 (1938), 7-9.

⁸ George S. Counts, "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" *Progressive Education*, 9 (1932), 257-263.

⁹ Charles H. Judd, *The Social Studies Curriculum*, p. 9.

Finally, there was another way to functionalize learning, the way developed in the kind of schooling defined in the beginning of the chapter. Children do not stop living when they come to school; they bring all of their unfinished business, their present and future plans and problems. They are not individualists but rather members of a social body, part and parcel of a way of life. Their developmental tasks are to prepare themselves for that life, to fit into it as healthy, happy, and effective people, and to contribute to its continuous improvement. In this sense, education is a preparation for living, but, due to the character of learning, it is also present living; and the two should not be viewed as contradictory.

INFLUENCES OF DEWEY AND HART

Of the many men who have shaped the "community-school" type of education, the influence of two has been outstanding.

In 1896, John Dewey started what he called "a new kind of school."¹⁰ It was mainly, he said, because of his own children for whom he feared "the sawdust stuff" of the traditional curriculum. An unoccupied house was made into "a testing station." School was to be "a transition point between home and society," education a "natural product of cooperative action." Learning itself was conceived as a process of "reorganizing past experiences" in order to give present meanings, hence to increase the learner's control of future events. The teacher's central role was that of "a guide," a leader, or manager of group thought and action.

In 1918, Joseph K. Hart¹¹ wrote a book which, at the time, attracted little attention. "The problem in democratic education," he said, "is not the problem of training children. It is the problem of making a community in which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the good things of life, and eager to share in the tasks of the age." And then he drew a disturbing conclusion:

¹⁰ From Katherine C. Mavhew and Anna C. Edwards, *The Dewey School*, Appleton-Century, New York, 1936.

¹¹ Joseph K. Hart, *Democracy in Education*, pp. 370-371, Appleton-Century, New York, 1918.

"A school cannot produce this result; nothing but a *community* can do so."

For many years, these twin sets of ideas have been taught to prospective teachers and taught often as though they were in conflict. This would indeed be strange if true. Both Dewey and Hart were critical of academic teaching. Neither set the individual in opposition to the group; in fact both recognized the dangers implicit in any literal individualistic education. Dewey would set up the school as a democratic community, a functional, adaptive group unity. Hart, while favoring this procedure, would also immerse children as they matured in the flow of life outside the school. Both agreed that the school alone could not do the educational job, that it was a job for school, home, and community. In short, their views were complementary, each providing an indispensable foundation for the present approach to life and learning.

IN SUMMARY

In whatever review plan that students may use in piecing together learnings in the past four chapters, it will be found that ideas center largely around the types of school-community relations, child socialization, group life of children, class biases in education, and the emergence of a new kind of functional schooling. Over the years, we have changed radically in our pattern of life and in the process lost much that once built out and stamped in a fairly complete childhood education. With society still faced with the problem of what to do with its young people, it seems reasonable to ask educators to restudy their own contributions, to move toward the kind of schooling that will function in present living. How this can be done is the problem to which we shall now turn, chiefly via case studies of school methods and procedures.

Problems and Projects

1. Some writers believe that the "community-school" type of life-centered education will last, whereas others hold that it will die out. Plan a panel discussion of this topic where each participant argues for the viewpoint that seems most logical to him. Have the panel leader try to reconcile divergent views so far as that is possible.

2. On which one of the nine points listed in defining the "community school" do you have the greatest personal reservation, that is, do not see through or do not agree with? Illustrate or explain your answer.

3. Compare your thought in Chap. 11 on the A-B type of school with the general viewpoint toward public schooling as given in this chapter.

4. What is meant by the high school as "a holding institution"? Is this viewpoint as true today as in times of economic depression? How true is it for lower class children? Consider in your answer the following figures:

OF EVERY 1,000 PUPILS WHO ENTER
THE FIFTH GRADE

805 complete the eighth grade
736 enter high school
378 complete high school
137 enter college
69 complete college

5. Why do so many youngsters drop out of grade and high school? Would a program of life-centered education tend to reduce dropouts?

6. In 1932, George S. Counts startled American educators by his charge that public schooling lacked a fundamental social philosophy. Is this still true? Make a 10-minute report to class on Counts's "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" *Progressive Education*, 9 (April, 1932), 257-263.

7. Compare the theories of schooling discussed by A. L. Hall-Quest in "Three Educational Theories: Traditionalism, Progressivism and Essentialism," *School and Society*, 56 (1942), 452-459, with the idea of life-centered learning as advanced in this chapter.

8. "Every school," writes Henry Harap, "is a community." What does he mean by this? Prepare a short paper on your reactions to his ideas as he presents them in *Educational Leadership*, 4 (February, 1947), 278-283.

9. For a most exciting survey of 6,789 Michigan high-school students, send for *Youth and the World of Work, 1949*, Social Research Service, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich. Study especially the charts and diagrams in this 110-page booklet. Would your class like to make a comparable study of local young people?

10. To see how communities are differentiated in terms of the kinds of problems children check on problem check lists, make a brief report to class on Ross L. Mooney, "Community Differences in the Problems

of High School Students," *Educational and Psychological Measurements*, 3 (Summer, 1943), 127-142.

11. See if you can find a copy of Joseph K. Hart's *Democracy in Education* (1918). Read through the book, checking your agreements and disagreements with the author's views.

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PART IV

WAYS OF WORKING ON SCHOOL PROBLEMS

CHAPTER 13

CHANGING SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Curriculum change, like the grin of the Cheshire cat, has been with us always. It is only in recent years, however, that it has become such an arduous business for so many schools. At any moment of time, over two-thirds of the nation's schools report curriculum changes of some kind or other. Young teachers may find themselves pulled into curriculum work shortly after they meet their first classes. In spite of so much program-making activity, we know little in any scientific sense about the process of school change—its nature, motivations, problems, and control. Fragmental “success stories” abound, but few experienced persons accept them at their face value. Important parts of the story are left unclear or untold, or claims of outcome exceed the logic of procedural methods.

Curriculum change may involve a specific school activity or a general revision in educational goals and practices, a single school or a large school system, one teacher or many. It may take either of two forms: *authoritarian*, where innovations are proposed by an administrator at his own initiative or on board mandate, or *democratic*, where a work-group through group processes tries to improve an educative experience conducted by the school. Our interest in Part IV is in the latter pattern, and stress will be placed on the strategies and tactics of organized group action. In this chapter, we shall use case materials to illustrate types of school changes and then generalize some of the elements in the change inducing process.

CHANGING A COURSE OF STUDY

It has always been easy to theorize about education, yet difficult to show concrete ways of doing the day's work any better. The first case cited might be taken to illustrate a method of

functionalizing any subject-matter area, that is, relating a bookish topic to the kind of life the pupils are living, making it real for them. After participating in discussions of curriculum, the teacher in the case wanted to make improvements in her own teaching. She was advised to continue her teaching practices much as they were until, in the text, she reached a unit on which she wished to experiment. If this unit could be changed, she could over time adapt other units, thus changing the entire course of study. Such advice depends, of course, on a number of factors, including judgment of the school situation and of teacher competence.

A LESSON IN ARITHMETIC¹

The class is a 6th grade group in "arithmetic," reciting each day's lesson in a question-answer way. On reaching a chapter on insurance, pupils were asked whether their fathers had any. What kind? From what company did they get it? What is a company? Why is insurance sold by companies? Could the class form a company to sell insurance? Who would be insured? How could that be done? Finding the textbook of little use, children questioned their parents. Answers ran along bookish lines—the benefits of insurance, why everybody should own some, where one gets it, old line companies, and so on. A pupil then offered to bring his father, an insurance agent, to class. To this man's surprise, he could not answer all the queries of the children; in fact any question involving risk calculation stumped him. He suggested that the class write a letter to the home office of his company. The letter was answered in detail by a vice president who is well known for his interest in public education.

After forming an insurance company, the class debated insuring members against various "natural hazards," a term taken from the vice president's letter, for example against low grades in schoolwork. Pupils settled, finally, on sickness, and a study was made of their own sickness record. Teams of workers went over records in the principal's office, presenting findings to the class. Sicknesses were felt to be of two kinds: big and little. A big sickness was viewed as one that kept a pupil out of school for five days or more, a little sickness one to four days, each certified by a parent and a doctor. "Benefits" were set at 5 cents and 2 cents per day, respectively, and stock in the company

¹ From Lloyd A. Cook and Elaine Forsyth, "Working With Groups in Classrooms, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 20 (1946), 168-175.

was sold to class members and other sixth-grade pupils at 37 cents a share. All of this was done with the principal's knowledge and approval.

At this point, the cashier of a local bank was invited to help the class make a plan for its business. Entering into the spirit of the project, he suggested that a checking account be established and that sickness benefits be paid by check. After explaining the irregularity of his next proposal, he said that the bank could pay some "interest" on this account, an offer which the teacher matched in private in order to increase the certainty of "dividends" at the end of each month's operation. A company treasurer was elected, plus an audit committee to go over the "figure work" of every other class committee. All of this involved a great deal of class planning, much talking back and forth with parents, and calculations the outcomes of which were important to the children.

After the first dividend was paid, the company found that it had a small surplus on hand, amounting to \$2.13. What was to be done with this "undivided surplus"? Reflecting our profit economy, the class voted to divide it among stockholders, but here the group ran into a snag they had never heard of, the "excess profits tax." What do other companies do with their surplus earnings? Again, the banker was called upon for advice, and what he said led the group to look for the investment paying the greatest return.

After prolonged search, plus some audit of annual reports to stockholders, the industry decided upon was a national public utilities company. Before this deal was carried forward, the class was led to face a very real issue in the smalltown community, home-owned versus "chain store" and outside enterprises. The problem was discussed in most of the pupil homes, with parents about evenly divided in their views. One viewpoint was to invest where one could make the most money, the other being that of supporting local industries. Again, the class made an effort to figure economic balances, but mostly when a vote was taken the question was settled on moral grounds. Home-owned businesses were favored and the losers were asked to be good sports, to go along with "majority rule."

The next stage in the project was to look around for local investment opportunities, including "look-see" trips to likely industries and audits of their business. As class choice began to settle on a small sheet metal plant, its president came to class to discuss business operations. Asked if the group could buy into his company, he was at first very doubtful but managed, finally, to find two shares of "unsold stock,"

each costing \$1.04 a share. After the visitor had left, the teacher helped the class review the evidence. True, the company was making money but its products went mainly to a communist controlled nation. Did the group want to be in the position of supporting communism?

In the school today, one can find two gilt-edged stock certificates, inscribed to the class, framed and hanging on the wall. They show class ownership of stock in a struggling local "co-op," small, poorly run and paying almost no dividends. Many parents believe "the kids made a bad investment," a viewpoint against which the 6th graders make quite an argument.

It took three class periods to get the above project started. After the company was organized, time was used as needed on committee work, reports, resource persons, and class visits. Other classwork went on much as usual, but nothing made as great an impression on the children. Insurance became a center of interest for the organization of various kinds of learning, with constant emphasis on number skills. Such teaching takes time, to be sure, but it brings a new sense of reality into school-work. It teaches one a great deal about human relations, what children are like, what they can and cannot do. It gives teachers confidence in new ways of learning, in increasing use of the group as an instrument of education.

STAFF APPROACH TO SCHOOL CHANGES

A teacher working alone or teachers working separately face difficult problems in making school changes. While they should by all means be encouraged, the more effective procedure is the whole staff approach. Many examples of such work come to mind, average or better than average faculties working together on important educational problems. The case given is not typical of public schools; yet it is instructive as an example of group work. The school, a junior high in a slum area of a large metropolitan city, was about evenly divided between Negroes and whites. On invitation of the principal, one of the authors offered to visit the school and address the staff. The problem on which help was asked involved "extracurricular activities" or rather the lack of student and faculty interest in such activities.

WORKING WITH A SCHOOL STAFF²

Arriving at school at the noon hour, the visitor took a look around. . . . The building was old, in bad repair, with few modern resources for teaching and little evidence of interest in room appearance. White and Negro teachers eating lunch had separated themselves into color groupings and almost no two-way conversation seemed to take place. Students were loud, rough acting, and divided racially. First impressions were of a poor educational setup, a race-ridden, tension-filled school in which life-centered learning had no chance.

Hearing noise from the gym, a peep inside showed a basketball game in progress. Three white boys were teamed against two Negro boys, in one way a normal situation since no other students were in sight. Presently, a Negro boy came in and joined the Negro players, evening the count. Two white boys came along, making a five-man white team against the three colored students. Another white came in, was held in reserve as a sub and then took the place of a regular white player. With such odds, the game itself suffered, whites scoring almost at will.

At this moment, through a nearby ground-level window, there came sounds of a fight. Seeking, again, a "feel" of the school, the visitor hurried to the window. As he climbed out, a Negro janitor ran out and pulled the battlers apart, scattering the little crowd that had come from nowhere. What had happened had been seen and heard by witnesses, so that the story quickly took shape.

A white teacher, walking down the narrow cement path from the main building to the gym, was met head on by a large colored girl. "I ain't gonna let you by," the girl had said, with a show of determination. "Now, Bessie," the teacher replied, "I'm in a hurry and I want to pass." Not budging from the center of the walk, the girl reiterated what she had said. When the teacher tried to push past, she was shoved off the walk. Stepping up, she either pushed or slapped Bessie who hit back, causing the teacher to fall. At this point the janitor stopped the fight.

During the afternoon, other evidence came to support the visitor's first impressions of a race-ridden school. For example, after talking a few minutes with the principal, who had taken the visitor in hand and escorted him from room to room, word came that an art teacher

² From "Group Work Technics in the College Study," 5-6, *College Study Bulletin*, TM-32 (October, 1948), The College Study in Intergroup Relations, Wayne University, Detroit.

was ill, that someone should take her class. Asked if he cared to do this, the visitor accepted. Again, the principal led the way to the class, breaking in on a noisy pack-jammed roomful of youngsters, pulling and hauling one another for all they were worth. Rapping for order, the principal bawled out the group, pulled two of its ringleaders out of their seats and marched them off to the office. While no introduction had been made, students knew that here was a new teacher and a whispering of "sub, sub" went around the room.

After facing the class for two long minutes without any indication that students were going to quiet down, the teacher deliberately turned his back to the group and began to draw on the blackboard. Anything could have happened—books or erasers might have come winging up. Instead, and perhaps taken unaware, the group did focus on the sketch that was emerging, a cartoon character that was well known to readers of comic strips. Asked to identify the character, several students shouted a reply. Asked if anyone could take the chalk and give the character the kind of arm muscles which is its standard trademark, a student came forward. Feeling that the situation might be pretty well under control, the teacher began another sketch. Amidst the silence, there came a strong, coarse voice from a girl in the back of the room who made no effort to hide her identity. "You funny, funny man. If you-all think we are gonna laugh at them jokes, you-all can kiss our . . ." Everyone laughed, including the teacher, as he turned to face the class, asking the girl who had spoken if she could complete the sketch. Her reply was that "she didn't do nothin' for no white people."

At the faculty meeting in the late afternoon, the visitor was introduced as a person who could help the school on its extracurricular problems. Ignoring somewhat the point of the introduction, the visitor spoke about human relations in public schools, their nature, importance, points of tension, so on. He concluded by asking that the faculty name the problem on which they felt most in need of help, the one most important problem in human relations in the whole school. No one spoke. The request was repeated, with a little story to relieve the tension. Again, silence. All of this was slowly timed and so directed as to make the group feel a pressure to respond. On the third trial, the visitor walked in front of the principal and spoke directly to him. Feeling an obligation to assume his usual role as spokesman of the faculty, he said in effect that he did not want any teacher to name any problem, that the problem on which the group would work had to be a group-designated problem.

With this directive in the air, the visitor asked how the total faculty could get at its one most important human relational problem. The principal said that a committee should be appointed, which was done, and the meeting was adjourned.

Two weeks later, the second faculty meeting was held. After some preliminary remarks seeking to recreate the atmosphere of the first meeting, the consultant asked if the committee had done its work. The chairman's reply was strongly positive. Had the committee canvassed all the faculty members? Yes, that had been done. Had it sifted replies and put them in rank order? Yes. What, then, was the one most important problem in human relations on which the staff should work? It was, said the chairman who was enjoying the spotlight, "the chewing of chewing gum in the school!" Bubble gum, he added, was the worst of all, a menace to health, an open flaunting of teacher orders. It made education quite impossible.

No one laughed when this report was made, in fact the mood was very tense. Eyes turned to the visitor, seeming to say: "Now, my fine feathered college friend, what are you going to do about that!"

At such moments, one is tempted to do many things none of which should be done. Disappointed with the group, unable to believe that such immature thinking is genuine, perhaps hurt a bit in ego feelings, one is inclined to tell off such faculties for what they really are. Faced with a race problem which spawned, in turn, endless smaller problems in class and nonclass activities, the staff had run away from it, making a face-saving escape via bubble gum!

Trying to get his thoughts in order, the visitor remarked that this was the first time he had ever been asked to help out on a gum-chewing problem, that the longer one lived the more he learned about school business, and so on. How, now, were we to proceed? How could the chewing of gum be stopped? Once again, eyes turned toward the principal. Determined to start the faculty talking, the visitor pointed to a teacher and asked for her ideas. After obvious embarrassment, she began to talk and, in talking, reviewed much of the school's history in working on its common problems. In substance, this had been tried, that had been tried, nothing had worked. Mostly, however, what had been done was that the principal issued orders, taking full responsibility for their enforcement. It was, after all, his job to run the school, to keep things in order.

In respect to the present issue, an "all faculty" campaign was planned to end the chewing of chewing gum—assembly announcements, homeroom talks, posters, notes sent home to parents, and so on.

This was the group's degree of readiness for action, the kind of action to which it felt accustomed, although few members seemed to have any faith in outcomes. The principal assumed the chairmanship as his natural right and appointed committees. A progress report was to be made at the end of a month.

A month later, we met to hear the progress report. The news was definitely disheartening. Apparently, no progress had been made. In truth, the situation had worsened, with students chewing gum who had never chewed before! Worse still, the faculty felt no sense of failure, for they knew that nothing could be done, anyhow. Their hearts had never been in the campaign, as ineffective as this type of action might well have been under the most favorable circumstances. The need was to arouse teachers quickly, sharply, to their own indifference and incompetence, their unwillingness to accept responsibility.

Well, maybe the kids were smarter than we had thought. Maybe they were tougher than we had given them credit for being. Maybe they ran the school, told teachers what to do. Maybe, the staff only worked here, having no real control. Maybe, maybe, maybe . . . with insinuation piled on insinuation. No faculty can stand a needling of this kind, a cumulative series of ego insults. Sooner or later, it will speak for itself, rise up and take command, which was what actually happened in this case. Who did the professor think he was to go around insulting people? Had he ever taught in a public school? By what right did he pretend to be able to help a school with its problems?

Here a student of such matters, a person interested in helping people, must make careful note of what has taken place. Stimulated to aggressive action, the faculty released its feelings on the outsider, the disturber of its routine habit patterns, however unsatisfactory these habits might appear to be. It could not, for example, react against the principal or the city school board for either might entail punishment. It could berate the consultant with impunity, and his job, in turn, was to take all the criticism aimed at him. He must not argue or deny, or get mad, or do anything except to absorb the flow of darts. As criticisms subsided, his task was to reach out and take hold of the group process, to center thinking once again on the problem at issue for, with the air cleared, real group thinking could be done.

Faced with the sense of failure, we agreed first of all that the problem was a serious one, that all of us would have to get together in solving it. Why were students so resistant, so adamant about gum

chewing? Was gum chewing per se significant or merely symbolical? Symbolical of what? Were there leaders on whom other students patterned? Was there a kind of secret code that ruled the school? What was the school as a series of interlocking groupings and how did communication go on?

Without going further with the case, it may be evident that the faculty was on the road to realistic thinking. For example, it had become exceedingly vocal. Attitudes changed from indifference to concern, withdrawing behaviors to participation. Even the principal expressed a willingness to share his duties with the faculty, in fact seemed glad that the staff indicated a desire to take over a measure of school control. New committees were elected and began studies of student leaders and school groupings. Once the great to-do about chewing gum subsided, students naturally lost interest in this childish art and the problem pretty well solved itself. One can believe that, in time, this faculty will come to face its major problem, what to do about race relations in the school.

Incomplete as the case is, it gives a considerable insight into the group-process approach to school problems, the use of group-wide intelligence to organize action, rather than dependence on an administrative official or an outside expert. It suggests, too, an important principle, one often neglected in an excess of democratic flag waving, namely, that the *function of leadership is to lead*. It is not to do nothing, to wait for time to solve problems, to engage in juvenile inanities, to spread a word screen for manipulative actions. It is to help a group help itself out of a jam, to point it toward whatever action is possible, knowing that as it acts under guidance it will tend to grow stronger in its potentials for further action.

COOPERATIVE SCHOOL CHANGES: PUPILS, PARENTS, AND TEACHERS

The first case in the chapter involved a teacher and her class, the second a total school faculty. The present case has to do with a still broader type of school change, a cooperative effort by pupils, parents, and teachers to reorient the curricular program. Thus the case moves toward an area to be treated in detail in a later chapter, the field of basic school and community coordination.

The school in question is a suburban junior-senior high school, enrolling about 1,400 students. It is located within the incorporated limits of a large Midwestern metropolitan area. Teacher salaries are high; the educational program is well financed and well administered. Parents are mostly business and professional people, well informed on civic matters, proud of their community and its schools but not active participants in educational programs. Up to the year of school planning described in the case, the junior-senior high school had been rather academic, most students taking college preparatory work. Since that year, a general effort has been made to orient instruction more closely to pupil needs, although we shall not deal with these specific and ongoing course changes.

MEETING PUPIL NEEDS³

After two meetings on the question of "what shall we do to make a better, stronger school," a consultant was invited to talk on the topic. Students, parents, and teachers attended the meeting, giving every indication that they were ready to get started on some plan of action. Instead of making a formal talk, the consultant said that he had come to learn what made a school "a better, stronger" educational institution, and ideas began to flow so fast that it was difficult to record them on a blackboard. Suggestions took the form of "ought," "should," or "must," and they were listed as they were made with no effort to classify them or to explore areas of agreement or disagreement. At this meeting, a motion was approved for a year-long study of the changes needed, how they were to be made, and similar questions.

On the day following the meeting, the consultant interviewed teachers, parents, and students. In addition to gathering further ideas, he became acquainted with personnel and could recommend the appointment of a general committee. For the next week, teachers and others were asked to think about pupil "needs" and to send the committee whatever occurred to them.

At the first committee meeting, all "needs" suggested by teachers, pupils, and parents were listed on 3 × 5 cards, one need to a card. Grades 6, 9, and 12 were canvassed for further listings, with instruc-

³ Adapted from Lloyd A. Cook, "Reorganization of School Programs in Relation to the Changing Social Order," in *Administrative Adjustments Required by Socio-Economic Changes*, pp. 35-49, 12th Yearbook, W. C. Reavis (Ed.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941.

tions not to include such general propositions as "a knowledge of arithmetic," "ability to read," or similar statements. Any need a pupil felt to be unmet could be recorded without reference to whether the school or home or other agency had the responsibility of meeting the need. Each pupil in the three grades was asked to submit not more than 10 needs, fewer if he cared to do so.

In all, the committee collected about five thousand cards, two-fifths of which came from the three school classes. The next step was to classify these cards by grades, eliminate duplicates, and combine statements with similar meanings. This produced for each grade a list of about one hundred items grouped under a score or more of headings. All three lists were submitted to ninth-grade pupils for refinement, and then to 12A students, resulting in a set of 17 items, as seen in Table 8.

In reviewing this procedure, the committee felt that it had involved considerable mechanics. It might have been better to have used some standard instrument to make a school survey, for instance, the *Mooney Problem Check List* or the *Raths' Wishing Well Test*. Impressed with the desirability of making the survey representative of all pupils and of not suggesting answers, the committee had felt that the longer way around would be in the end the shortest way to basic goals.

Step three was taken only after much around-the-table discussion. Several things were evident from an inspection of the final list of items. For example, the school could not be expected to assume full responsibility for meeting all the needs set down by pupils and others. Second, the school was already meeting some of the needs and could profit by a reaction to its effectiveness. Committee action was to devise, test out, and finally administer a questionnaire to 1,538 persons. The form of the inquiry was as follows:

A PUPIL-NEEDS SURVEY

School's responsibility
None Part Entire

Needs to Be Met

School's efficiency
High Low Average

- 1 Understanding the human body and its care
- 2 A knowledge of sex, its nature, functions, and importance as a basis of family life

Of the 1,538 persons filling in the forms, 834 were sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade pupils, 546 were parents, and 158 teachers and school officials. While all degrees of responsibility and efficiency were checked, the bulk of response fell in median categories. In all, a third

to nine-tenths of the raters, varying with items, judged the school to have "a partial responsibility" in meeting the pupil needs listed, and from a fourth to two-thirds or over felt that the school was meeting these needs with "average" (or adequate) efficiency. Variations by voting groups and by specific items are seen in Table 8.

In committee opinion, the list of needs in Table 8 did not cover by any means the full range of school objectives. Moreover, it reflected a distinct middle class bias, hence might not be applicable to other school situations. Importance of the list, in committee feeling, lay in the fact that it showed many new and worthwhile school aims, for example, family-life education and increased emphasis on citizenship. Furthermore, it showed that teachers were inclined to accept new school responsibilities, much more so than were parents and that they were more critical than either parents or pupils of the school's present effectiveness. These attitudes were, in committee judgment, "exceedingly healthful signs" of teacher maturity and professional point of view.

While a large number of persons worked with the steering committee in making the needs study, it was agreed that the committee itself (pupils, parents, and teachers) should take the initiative in presenting study findings to the community. At a school mass meeting called for this purpose, the work was reviewed. A few basic tables and graphic pictures were distributed on mimeographed sheets and then flashed on a screen for audience discussion. Prominent citizens were given the report in advance and asked to make comments at the meeting. A reporter on the local paper had agreed to do a feature write-up and was present to take pictures. P.T.A. leaders announced a special campaign to get the material before all their groups throughout the city.

In general, the viewpoint that marked this phase of the project can be summarized in this way. Our school is good, but it is not perfect. As times change, school work must change to meet new conditions of life, new pupil needs. Some old things, such as the three R's, must be taught better, and some things must be started which are new altogether. To find out what should be done, the school has made a study of children's needs. Pupils, parents, and teachers planned this study and conducted it. They have worked from October until now (April) and have important findings to share with you. On the sheets that have been passed out, you will see these findings, the needs of boys and girls in this community. You should note especially these points, and here a number of specific items are named. You can see that the school itself faces a great problem. It has already taken

TABLE 8. PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS, PARENTS, AND TEACHERS JUDGING THAT THE JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL HAS A PARTIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND FUNCTIONS WITH AVERAGE EFFICIENCY IN MEETING PUPIL NEEDS IN SPECIFIED AREAS

	School role and performance					
	Partial responsibility			Average effectiveness		
	Pupils	Parents	Teachers	Pupils	Parents	Teachers
Pupil needs to be met						
1. Under-standing the human body and its care	75.1	81.9	96.2	51.5	59.0	31.7
2. A knowledge of sex, its nature, functions, and importance in family life	57.1	71.0	93.0	38.4	44.8	27.0
3. Know how to give first aid in case of emergencies in home and city life	55.5	49.8	79.1	32.4	38.8	27.0
4. Know and do one's full duties as a citizen	60.3	70.5	91.1	73.3	71.9	72.2
5. Learn to study effectively, independently	35.0	43.1	62.7	63.5	61.2	50.8
6. Know occupations and be able to make an intelligent choice of a life-work	48.4	62.1	81.0	42.4	39.8	36.5
7. Learn how to judge the worth of radio programs, movies, and the newspaper	57.2	69.5	84.5	50.4	54.6	51.6
8. Build an intelligent appreciation of the fine arts, a taste for good things	63.2	70.3	89.9	62.7	71.0	60.3
9. Develop sports and hobbies which will give satisfaction, carry into life	65.9	73.5	91.1	67.7	75.4	74.6
10. Be liked by people, wanted by them, and able to take turns in leading groups	59.7	74.4	94.9	68.4	73.5	67.5
11. Learn the value and uses of money and how to budget earnings or an allowance	59.7	64.5	90.5	40.3	37.5	30.2
12. Be willing to assume responsibility in the home, on the playground, and elsewhere	39.2	39.4	58.2	52.2	51.1	38.9
13. Be able, after marriage, to manage one's own home with economy and satisfaction	58.3	56.2	82.3	49.8	41.6	37.3
14. Know how to dress simply, attractively	40.3	55.0	95.6	57.8	65.6	61.9
15. Budget time so as to get the most out of every day and every year	58.5	70.0	89.2	58.3	51.1	43.7
16. Learn good manners, how to behave in a courteous and friendly fashion	71.6	79.5	93.7	67.2	64.7	45.2
17. Be able to express one's self fluently, accurately, and effectively	46.0	51.8	67.7	61.8	64.0	66.7

steps to improve old units of study and to put in new ones, and it will try to make other changes. But the school alone cannot meet all these needs. The job is in part the responsibility of the home, the church, character-building agencies, business and civic groups. Over the next few weeks, we shall hold meetings with the heads of all these educational agencies. We want you tonight, as representatives of the entire community, to learn about this work, to tell us your reactions to it, and to help us make plans for the better life and education of all our children.

In this case, in contrast to the "chewing-gum" example, emphasis has been on technical problems, for instance, construction of a questionnaire and processing factual data. Every change-inducing effort has two aspects, or rather two types of problems, problems in technical study making and in human relations. While the steering committee in the case got caught in what was perhaps excessive study mechanics, all who participated in the project learned what few school and parent groups seem to know, namely, *how to devise, administer, score, interpret, and use scientific study findings*. If such knowledge were widespread, much wasted time and energy could be saved, many good impulses come to better ends.

ANALYSIS OF CASES

The first case, the sixth-grade class, shows the transformation of rather inert pupils into an active working group. The case centers attention once more on the kind of schooling discussed earlier in the volume, life-centered learning with extensive use of community resources. From a group-process standpoint, pupil behaviors and teacher methods were not well enough described to make critical analysis profitable. Presumably, impediments of one kind or another were encountered, but we do not know how they were solved.

In the next case, the slum-area school, data are sufficient to suggest the atmosphere of the school, the interpupil and interfaculty tensions, the low level of educational thinking, the work of the consultant. It will be noted, first of all, that an indirect approach was made to program making, that nothing was said about race relations. The outsider's role was to start the faculty

working, and any problem except race would have done. Race, in theory, would have split the group wide open, widening cleavages already evident. Another point is that the consultant must have expected at some time that the group would want to take hold of itself, to move its thinking along with as much speed as possible; for it was agreed when action started that the campaigners would report results at the next meeting. When these results showed the ineffectiveness of group procedure, the occasion was used to restate the problem and to motivate a more intelligent kind of action. Such tactics will be discussed in the final chapter as "complacency shock," a last resort technique when the usual "pull" methods have failed to work or look to be unpromising.

The third case gives an analyst little human-relational materials, dealing principally with technical problems. Again, one's presumption is that oppositions developed; for all such education is change, and change, inevitably, produces resistance. What we need to know a great deal about is how leaders work with these resistances, resolve groupwise differences and integrate deviants. We need to know also how action programs get started, how they win support and enlist cooperation, how they move in an ever tightening spiral to achieve their ends.

GROUP WORK IN EDUCATION

One is tempted to present more cases, but they can be better used after some group-work theory. Group-process education, group guidance, group management, action research—whatever the title—is very old in human affairs, very promising, and very poorly done. It had its origins untold years ago in processes of democratic thought, in spontaneous efforts at cooperative action. It has been used for years by teachers in the dramatic play of young children and in classroom activity programs. True, in recent times, under impetus of Kurt Lewin, his associates and others, group work has assumed newer and richer meanings. It is not limited to any specific technique, such as the sociodrama, for it now takes on many different forms. It is not confined to school-related education, being found in industry, agricultural extension, civic meetings, youth movements, organized recre-

ation, church programs, and armed-forces training. Along with group study, it is the community school's central approach to group action problems in the school and in social life.

GROUP WORK: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE⁴

Within the last decade, there has been a tremendous expansion of interest in the structure of groups as the principal explanation of the behavior of individuals. Psychiatrists have increasingly tried to chart the social networks of which persons are a part, as a diagnostic and therapeutic approach to mental disorders. Heads of child-care institutions have found the method revealing and valuable in abolishing tension and conflict and establishing cooperation and morale in their communities. A large number of similar studies are reported for schools and classrooms, and the technique has been applied to whole adult communities. In industry, worker morale and output are known to be related to the general outlook of the individual, particularly to that part which can be described as his social situation. Informal organization of workers, the job satisfactions found within working groups, have a far greater effect on production than do variations in native ability, in lighting, rest periods, refreshments, and a number of other material factors.

Whatever form group work may take, its prime aim is to help people help themselves in solving problems of common concern. Its distinctive feature is *the use of the group as an instrument for the education, or better, the reeducation, of its members*. Reeducation is preferable because, in human relations, people have learned a great deal about people. Old learnings will be projected on whatever new learnings one is trying to teach; hence change involves reeducation. New learnings must be new in at least three ways—the way one sees the world about him, his perceptions; second, how he feels about people, his values and convictions; and third, what he does in response to these motivations, his overt behavioral actions.

The central thesis of group work, simply put, is this: *to change the individual, one must change the group*; for otherwise new learnings will be sloughed off in face of group reaction. Skill

⁴ Based upon George A. Lundberg, in a lecture on "Marketing and Social Organization," published by University of Washington, 1946.

learnings in particular require repeated practice, a condition impossible in face of group opposition. Moreover, these learnings must be self-motivated to an extent not true in any other learning field; hence real education is in truth self-education. It is a voluntary action, an inner desire to change, to think clearer, do better, be different. What motivates these changes in persons is still a moot question, our theory being that people want to be liked by people, valued and wanted by them. To be liked by people, one must be like them, hence the tremendous control that groups exert over individual behaviors.

Even where, in schoolwork, the central thesis of group-process education must be reversed, that is, the individual "adjusted" to the group, the procedure makes use of the group in the adjustment process. One does not proceed by individual guidance, in the sense of working with persons separate and alone. The group-work method is to build group unity and then to incorporate marginal members into this common core of values. By "marginal," attention is called to an obvious fact. A group is not like a body of water, a lake, for example, where one is either inside or outside. Groupness is a matter of degree, with some members at the center, others near the outer margins. It is these "fringers" who give teachers a considerable amount of trouble, persons not responsive to group influences, hence not responsible citizens of any school's moral order.

We have spoken about incorporating an individual into a group, recognizing that this is a basic aspect of all socialization. From a democratic standpoint, it might be argued that some persons stand to lose a great deal by such operations. At times, this is the case, for group action is compromise action, the greatest good for the greatest number, with full respect for minority rights to change a majority point of view. On closer inspection of this issue, it will be seen that individuals often gain more by aligning their conduct with group norms than they lose. They have been striving, but in an inept way, for the social acceptance which a group worker is able to facilitate.

HELPING A CHILD WIN GROUP ACCEPTANCE⁵

The time is noon, the place Corpus Christi. Among the 40-odd first-grade Spanish and Anglo children eating lunch, one will not touch his spinach. He looks down at the plate, up at the teacher, unmoved by her admonitions and the disapproval of his group. When the visitor asked the teacher *sotto voce* about this behavior, he was assured that it was typical, that the child was a "problem," that he came from a "bad" home and was not liked by other children.

When the stranger was introduced, the teacher asked that he talk to the class. He agreed but said that he had just heard a new song, a funny song and fun to sing. It was all about "Popeye, the sailor man," how strong he was, how brave, and how he got like that. Would the children care to sing, the first verse going like this. . . .

As the verses were sung, the visitor moved around the table toward the little rebel. At the end of each verse, each ending with some reference to Popeye eating spinach, the group worker would look at some plate, exclaiming that the spinach was all gone, feeling the child's arm muscles and making a to-do over him. This caused much excitement among the children, some holding out their plates for the worker to see.

It was not until the visitor was three children away from Angelo that he began to focus, to feel the pressure of the group. A companion whispered to him, urging perhaps that he eat his spinach, but he made no movement in reply. Thinking that the timing had been poor, that more time was needed, the worker stopped behind the chair of each of the three children, looking increasingly at the little boy. Two children away, the boy began to stare at his plate, his hands edging bit by bit toward it. One child distant, and with his turn next, the youngster grabbed the plate with both hands and bolted down the spinach. The song over him was a pretty special matter. Why, one could feel his muscles grow! The child's bodily tension relaxed and his scowl disappeared. He sat up straight in his chair, began to grin a bit, and looked around the table.

It would be wrong to regard group work simply as a way of incorporating marginal individuals into a group, making them responsive to its influences, or of using pressure as the only method or even the preferred method of accomplishing this ob-

⁵ From a forthcoming volume: Lloyd Allen Cook, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

jective. This is, indeed, a group-work function but by no means its major function. Far more time, in years of experiences in schools, has been spent on the resolution of intragroup and intergroup differences, for example clique relations within a faculty or conflicts between community pressure groups. Most time of all has gone into the positive uses of the group to develop new programs of action, to release individual creative abilities and find bases on which group variant behaviors could be approved and rewarded. Whatever the problem at issue, group and individual guidance are to be used as needed, each complementing the other as cases in later chapters will show.

GROUPS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The group-work approach to common learning problems is new to most education majors, so new that they are readily taken in by simple formulae which show an inadequate grasp of the basic process. If one's sociological background is limited, he might well scan introductory texts dealing with group life. Mostly, however, he will learn from his experiences, in part from reflection on the nature of groups and the functions they have played in his own life.

A group is not an aggregate of individuals or a statistical count of their characteristics. Were a student to watch the behaviors of his fellow students or a teacher to observe the actions of every child in a classroom, both would still miss groupness. Group properties differ from those seen in separate persons—group purposes, structure, action, morale, leadership, and the like. To make sense out of these concepts, to shape them up as group-work tools, one must think about the group as a new entity, *a social system integrating members about a core of common values*. It is these values, these goals and strivings, rewards and punishments that give significance to individual behaviors. For example, consider any kind of team game. To understand it, one must know its purposes, how players are motivated, what they are trying to do. The same is true with any sort of grouping. It is a structured relationship, a togetherness the nature of which differs from the sum of its individual member-unit parts. Of all the concepts used in group work, the idea of process

causes most students the most trouble. Process is a common word, meaning in everyday usage a series of interrelated activities leading to an end. To illustrate, one may say that he is in process of dressing or is writing a term report. In group work, the term carries the same meaning, as an ordinary group meeting will disclose. A proposes some course of action. B objects but offers no alternative. C and D, between them, have an idea of what should be done, how it could be managed. B, while holding in part to his original views, accepts the substance of C-D's proposal. A suggests minor changes, repeating points from his first statement. E remarks that the group now seems to be in agreement, a conclusion in which others concur, and he reviews the *process* through which a decision has been reached.

To ask who made the final plan is to pose an insoluble question. It is a shared product, a group product. To parcel out individual contributions would be impossible, for, beneath the level of words, beneath even the threshold of consciousness, a tremendous amount of interpersonal behavior has occurred—bodily motions, subtle gestures, shaded meaning, assumptive values, and the like. The plan is the result of an interactive process, an exchange of ideas and experiences which should not be hard to understand. Of course, group processes grow much more complicated than the example suggests, taking specialists to follow them through to their tentative ends.

When students discuss their group experiences, it is evident that groups have performed at least four functions in their life. First, groups are the "grounds" on which one stands, his major avenue of contact with people, their culture, problems, and strivings. Not to hold group memberships is to take one's self out of social life, to live as a recluse, a nonparticipant. Second, groups give security to the individual, a sanction to his ideas and ideals, a feeling of their worth and rightness. Third, it is through groups that one realizes his basic purposes, reaching his peak of self-development and expression. Finally, and here students are quite clear, groups are centers of emotional satisfaction, a finding confirmed by much research in the mental-hygiene approach to personality problems.

In conclusion, it is these functions of groups, even more than a

general theory that people want to be liked, that make group-work effective. Man is, in short, an inveterate group being, a joiner, believer, participant in. He is at his best in groups, at his worst outside of them. The group, not the individual, has been the human survival unit, the center of human nature and human living. Its nonschool use as an instrument of teaching and learning is very, very old, and its school use is moving toward higher competence levels.

Guiding or managing group processes is one way of changing school programs. It is not the only way, at times perhaps not the best way, yet there is much evidence to show that it can become an effective approach to problems involving social learning.

Problems and Projects

1. With this chapter, we begin discussion of concrete school and community problems. Where, in your opinion, should emphasis be put—on *values*, *knowledge*, or *techniques* of problem solving? Give reasons for your answers

2. Invite some school administrator to visit your class. Loan him a copy of your textbook so that he can read this and the next chapter. Ask him to talk to the class about these cases, indicating his viewpoints about these ways of working with school people

3. Conduct the same type of project (above) with a college professor. Do his views differ from those of the school head?

4. Review and evaluate the work of the school sociologist in the "chewing-gum" case. What more would you like to have known about his procedures with that school faculty? Should students have been taken into the planning group? Their parents?

5. In Table 8, item 2 has to do with what is coming to be called "educating for family life." Remembering that this is a highly controversial issue in many communities, how would you go about planning schoolwork in this field if you knew that the need for it was very great?

6. Appoint a class committee to visit schools and observe the group behaviors of children. Let committee members arrange several sociodramas as a way of presenting their observations to class. Show at least one scene in which children are by themselves and one where a teacher is present and guiding them in their activities.

7. Write and hand in a carefully thought-out paper on your present understanding of and viewpoint toward "group work in education."

Write in reference to college, to the elementary school, or to high school, whichever you prefer.

8. Make an observational study of some college group to which you belong, showing the extent to which the group is "a social system integrating members about a common core of values."

9. Do you know of a good educational film on "group-process teaching" that can be used at this point in the course? Consider again the McGraw-Hill films *Learning to Understand Children* and *The Broader Concept of Method*.

10. What do children learn in the groups of which they are members? Why are they so responsive as a rule to group approval and disapproval? Read in this connection James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*, Chap. XX, in "School Situations," and Chap. XXI, "Role of Peer Groups."

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CHAPTER 14

GROUP DYNAMICS IN THE SCHOOL

In the past chapter, we began discussion of what is a strong and growing teacher interest, the use of group processes in changing school programs, group structure, and pupil personality. The cases served as a basis for the introduction of some group-work thinking but not enough to meet the questions asked by students. These questions concern *goals*, the purposes of specific group-guidance projects; *techniques*, procedures by which these aims are achieved; and *results*, measures of progress during the activity and at its conclusion. This chapter continues with these interests in human relations in school and community life, presenting materials which will permit further generalization.

The group is, perhaps, the most important orienting concept in modern sociology, the most inclusive of basic problems in that field, the most productive of systematic research. While sociologists have for many years concentrated on all sorts of groupings, their prime interest has been in *status research*, a comprehensive picture of what groups are like, how they behave, the effects they create. Thus a body of knowledge has come into existence which dare not be ignored in the conduct of human relations and public affairs. But sociologists have been very neglectful of what Kurt Lewin liked to call "change experiments," controlled efforts to solve group problems, to direct group life, to increase group achievements. In the cases that follow, this is our central concern—an understanding of groupness so that it can be made to yield more things that people want in a democratic way of life.

LEADER ROLES AND "GROUP ATMOSPHERES"

If any studies in group management deserve to be called classic, it would be the "group atmosphere" researches at the

University of Iowa under direction of Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and others. In addition to their penetration into groupness, its nature and expressions, these experiments have been made the basis of much practical work in training community leaders, in labor-management relations, in the conduct of conferences and workshops, and in school affairs. In their complete form, these studies set a model for later research, a study design that is too complex and variable for analysis here. But most of all, as the following case will show, the work done on club "atmospheres" will help teachers identify the kinds of leaders found in child groupings, the nature and effects of their leadership.

AUTOCRATIC, DEMOCRATIC, AND LAISSEZ-FAIRE ATMOSPHERES¹

Experimental Setup. To study various kinds of "group atmospheres," four clubs were organized on a volunteer basis, each comprising five 10-year old boys. Club members were selected from school classes by use of several kinds of data, including sociographic study of pupil friendships, teacher ratings, and school records. The idea was to get equated groups, after which club leadership could be made the variable for careful study. Leadership was to be of three kinds, characterized as follows:

AUTHORITARIAN	DEMOCRATIC	LAISSEZ-FAIRE
1. Policy made by an outside, adult leader, enforced as necessary on club members	1. Policy made by group discussion and decision, aided on invitation by adult leader	1. Freedom of action, club members doing much as they pleased, no leader control
2. Activities dictated by the leader, step by step, with further steps uncertain	2. General goal was agreed upon, alternatives presented, members making choices	2. Leader supplied information if asked; assumed no other duty
3. Leader dictated work to be done, work companions, etc., enforcing compliance	3. Division of tasks left to group, with leader suggesting effective ways of work together	3. Complete nonparticipation by leader, indifference

¹ Our account is based on several articles listed in the chapter bibliography, including the comprehensive report of Ronald Lippitt and Ralph K. White, Chap. 28, in R. G. Barker, J. S. Kounin, and H. F. Wright, *Child Behavior and Development*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1943.

AUTHORITARIAN	DEMOCRATIC	Laissez faire
4. Leader gave personal praise and criticism but took no other part in group process	4. Leader became a group member, fair and objective in comments but did little actual work	4. Few comments of any kind, no effort to enforce any work rules

Club meetings were held once a week for a two-hour period over five months of time. They were held, two clubs at a time, in adjacent clubrooms, with leadership alternating for each group from autocratic to democratic (A to D), or vice versa, or *laissez faire* to democratic or autocratic (L to D or A), so that each club had for six weeks each type of leader. Club activities involved such interests as mask making, soap carving, and model-airplane construction, with the D group usually meeting first and deciding its work which was then imposed on the A group.

Of all the factors to be held constant, leader personality and procedures were the most difficult to control. In all, four adult club leaders were used. From interviews with club members, it was possible as the experiment progressed to keep a rather close check on leaders. They were, of course, instructed in the kind of leadership to be used in each club, with types of leadership shifting at six-week intervals for each club. Leader effectiveness could be gauged by children's comments, and guidance could be given to club leaders as it was needed.

Types of Evaluative Data. In order to draw conclusions from any experiment, a plan must be made at the start for the collection of significant data. First off, the four group leaders were trained in the meaning of key concepts, for example, social interaction, and in identifying behaviors in these areas. Next, similar training was given to 11 observers who met with the clubs and kept notes on their activities. These observers had no part in clubwork and seem to have been accepted by the boys as interested in other business. Third, as just implied, systematic records were kept on the total project, including stenographic reports of all conversations. Data were organized under such headings as leader-follower relations, group structure, individual behaviors, changes in group dynamics, and interclub behaviors. All materials were synchronized in time intervals, providing in total for a complete description of group behaviors.

Validity and reliability were studied from various viewpoints, showing the extreme care with which the work was conducted. For instance, 23 large behavioral categories were devised, and 3,000 "conversations"

were classified under these headings with an 86 per cent agreement among the classifiers.

Illustrative Club Meetings. Samples of club behaviors will define more clearly the contrasting autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire atmospheres, each largely a product of that type of leadership.

SUBMISSIVE REACTION TO AUTOCRACY

Group members come in before the leader arrives. They kid each other, showing no interest in work. They sit around a mask which they have been making, until the leader enters. He starts at once to put them to work. "The first thing we're going to do," he says, "is to make footprints in plaster of Paris." Get your aprons on. . . . Vinnie, you help Ben . . . get some plaster. That bucket should be about two thirds full. . . . Pack it down tight, get a hurry on. . . ."

Boys put on their aprons and start work as directed. Ben goes after the plaster, asking if the bucket is full enough. The leader tells him it should be fuller. Ray is told to set his foot on the plaster, Vinnie to press sand around it and so on. All boys are working now and continue until the leader steps out of the room. They stop work at once and begin to wisecrack back and forth. Vinnie is kidded for playing in the sand and he throws a handful at the teasers. Ray shouts, "Give it to him, the twirp," and throws some plaster of Paris. Someone yells, "Cross-eyed rat," and the battle continues, changing to a verbal level just before the leader returns. The boys act as if they had been working steadily, as if nothing had happened.

It is plain to see from these club minutes that work falls to pieces when the leader is not present, that it is leader motivated rather than spontaneous. It is a response to orders, with no discussion or cooperative planning, no understanding of why a task is undertaken or how all tasks fit together. As long as the leader is present, directing each step in the activity, work output is high, for everyone is kept busy. Freed from leader domination, submissive reactions turn into aggression, tensions being discharged by intragroup kidding, hostile and destructive actions.

AGGRESSIVE REACTIONS TO AUTOCRACY

On coming in, the boys discover some slight damage done their work by "the Monday gang," the other club using the room. All voice resentment, Sam being the loudest. "See if you can find any of their stuff," he says, "and bust it up." The leader heads off this attack by firmly outlining the day's work. He directs that, first off, aprons should be made. Sam interrupts, starts to argue and then quiets-down. He warns the other boys not to "mess with" his materials, at which point Reilly says he plans to mix paint, not

make aprons. When the leader is adamant, club members protest but go to work.

Presently, members of the Monday club come in. Reilly says, "Here come the skunks," other boys making similar comments. The leader asks who left the scissors on the floor. One boy accuses another who denies it, and a fist fight seems imminent. Several boys are now shouting at each other, kicking things around, until the leader enforces quiet.

In contrast to the submissive reactions to autocratic leadership, these boys are in rebellion, open and covert. In part, their cumulative aggressions are vented on one another or on inanimate objects, but mostly their hostility is directed toward the leader. One wonders why they continue meeting, since their participation is of a voluntary nature, but perhaps their battle with the leader as well as their intense desire to do damage to the Monday group have greater attraction than one might imagine. It was this club that finally made such a scapegoat of one of its members that his situation became intolerable.

CLUB REACTIONS TO DEMOCRACY

Two boys come in together. One finds a bar of soap, saying, "Here's the soap for the soap carving on which we decided." Other boys enter, each exclaiming over the soap, planning how to use it. As the work starts of its own accord, boys inspect one another's carvings, raising questions and passing compliments. Bill holds up his piece of soap, telling the leader he might make a bed out of it. The leader nods and another boy urges him to go ahead and try it.

Of all the club members, only Van is still casting about for an idea of what to make. He finds a picture in a book and takes it to the leader for inspection. The leader says that a canoe would be a fine thing to make, "a very good idea," calling the boy's attention to details of form, with the boy left to make a final decision.

Two-thirds through the period, Van reminds the group of something they had planned to do at this meeting. Without formality, the leader asks if they shall finish the soap carving, or start upon the new activity. All but Van agree to go on with the carving, the leader remarking that the decision is "all but unanimous." A boy asks what this means and it is explained to him. The session closes with Bill's comment that "we oughta learn them rules about voting and have things regular."

In this group, we, us, and our points of reference far exceeded the I, me, and mine. Interest in the work was keen, even before the leader entered. Each boy took pride in his carving, gaining group status by work achievements. So far as possible, the leader gave help to individuals in terms of expressed needs, taking a group vote only when

the issue involved total group activity. Things were explained to club members, thus developing both the language and the skills of democratic action.

REACTIONS TO A LAISSEZ-FAIRE CLIMATE

On coming in, the boys cluster around a blueprint on a table. The adult leader stands apart, leaning against a post, and the group ignores him. Van says, "Come on, gang, let's make plans." Bill, who was elected "captain" at the last meeting, answers that "we're going to draw things, I don't know just what. We could draw a ship, see, or a gun or building or something." Finn mocks Bill, telling him that he doesn't know much. When Bill asks what he suggests, Finn makes a wisecrack and begins a project of his own.

Club members stand around, obviously with no plan. The adult leader says and does nothing, not having been asked for help. Eddie urges that "we gotta have a plan," and Bill proposes that the group "make a map, or something." As talk continues, Finn is delighted, while most of the others start to repair the table. After working a few minutes, this task seems hopeless. It is discontinued and club members drift apart.

Finn now becomes very smart aleck but gets no response. Eddie paints dots on Bill's trousers. One boy begins to throw darts; two others talk about wartime generals. Eddie starts whittling; Van pounds away with a hammer. Two boys struggle over a wooden gun, a play fight that grows serious. Presently, a machine-gun battle breaks out, but Bill, the elected club captain, sits pensively on a stool. He looks at the democratic club using the other end of the room, marveling perhaps at their cohesive action.

With nothing to do, no working plan, behavior is anarchistic, the adult leader making no attempt to organize the group. Frustration leads to aggression, aggression to more frustration. Finn, in particular, develops antigroup feelings, but the group, if the term can be so used, is too weak to unify against him. Finding no single target at which to aim, activities degenerate into rough housing and childish horseplay, broken now and then by spurts of concentrated work effort.

Leader Roles in ADL Atmospheres. A point of great concern to every teacher is the effect of leadership in creating group atmospheres. It will be recalled that leader roles were varied, with each leader playing all three (ADL) types of roles, so that leader personality—in contrast to group role—could be held fairly constant. The role content, or overt leader behavior, is seen in Fig. 26.

It will be noted, first of all, that the leader is by far the most active in an autocratic atmosphere, that is, his measured volume of activity is much greater than in a democratic climate where leadership is shared or in a "let-alone" atmosphere where leadership is absent.

Secondly, over 60 per cent of autocratic leader behavior is of a "dominating type," for example, "orders," "disruptive commands," and the like. These behaviors limit the scope of individual creative ability,

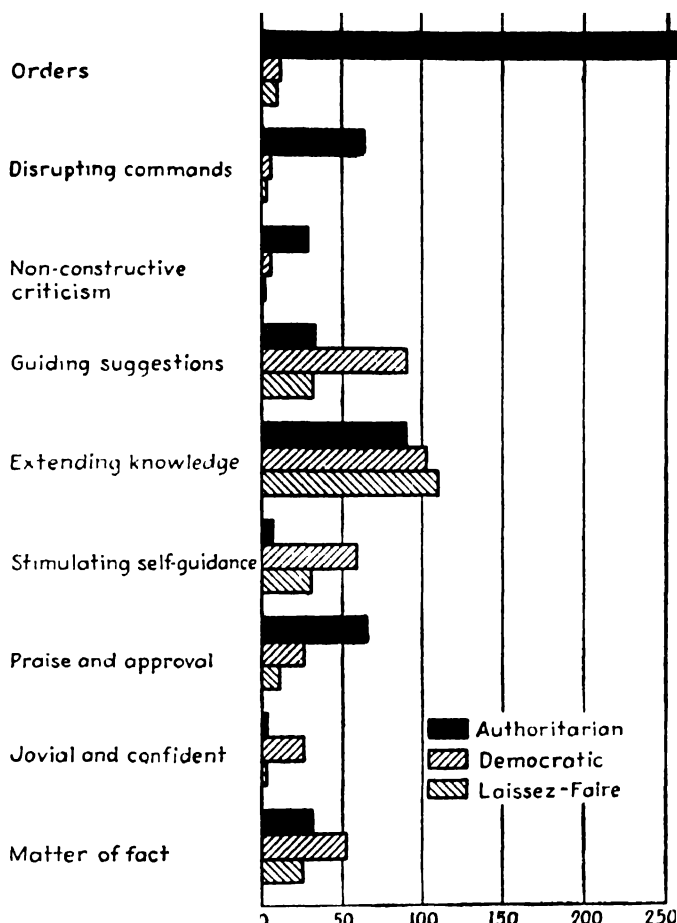


FIG. 26. Behaviors of authoritarian, democratic, and laissez-faire leaders. (From Ronald Lippitt and Ralph K. White, Chap. 28, in R. G. Barker, J. S. Kounin, and H. F. Wright, *Child Behavior and Development*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1943. Used by permission.)

making initiative and spontaneity quite impossible. By contrast, the democratic leader, while much less active, influenced group action by such tactics as "extending knowledge" and judicious use of suggestions, praise, and approval. Put in more technical terms, this type of

leader "structured the field" so that groups could realize common goals, whereas the A type of leader "cut off" club members from all goals which did not coincide with his own preconceived ideas.

Level of Group Morale. Using morale to mean the general health of a group, the determination to realize its goals, group cohesiveness under democratic conditions was substantially greater than in either kind of reaction to autocratic leadership or in *laissez faire*, a state of chronic disorder. For example, statistical counts of the times "we" was used instead of "I," of the friendly interactions between club members, of expressions of discontent, and so on, all support the finding just cited, a conclusion in which the four adult club leaders fully concurred. On the surface, it appeared that the submissive autocratic group spent more time in working together than did the democratic group, 74 per cent of their total work time in comparison with 50 per cent for the latter group. This finding does not, however, indicate that "spontaneous cohesion" was any greater, the real test being the leader's absence from the room.

With the leader out of the room in the A-type group, a procedure planned as a definite part of the experiment, work time dropped to 29 per cent of the possible time, while "distractive behaviors" increased from 6 per cent in his presence to 20 per cent during his absence. In the democratic group, the absence of the adult leader caused little change in work behavior, a shift from 50 per cent of the possible work time to 46 per cent. Leader presence or absence made no difference in the *laissez-faire* group, except perhaps to influence group inclination toward more or less destructive behaviors.

Lower level of A-group morale is accounted for by restrictions imposed on club member movements, by lack of spontaneous sociability, and by cumulative opposition to the leader and his imposed goals. In the submissive type of autocracy, individuals tended to "adjust to the inevitable," to give up their wish for autonomy, independence, and the like. As long as leader commands seemed related to getting the work done, in fact represented a master craftsman and his skills, resentment did not mount. When the opposite was true, demands were viewed as arbitrary and revolt took overt forms. Dissatisfaction with one aspect of the situation, *i.e.*, leadership, spread to every aspect, including the group itself, producing intragroup and ego-centered conflicts.

Differences in Group Achievement. From a quantitative standpoint, the material work output of the submissive autocratic group was greater than that of any other group. In other respects, its showing was less than that of the democratic group. For instance, a com-

parison of murals painted by all the clubs revealed more care for details in the democratic atmospheres, plus less "slopping of paint." Moreover, D club members averaged seven proposals for group action for every one in the submissive group and for every three in the aggressive and laissez-faire groups.

In many other ways, personality outcomes differed. For instance, ego-centered competitive behaviors were several times more common in autocratic groups than in democratic climates. Cooperative behaviors were numerous in D-type groups and as truly a group product as a material object. Pride of achievement was much greater in the D club than elsewhere. At the final meeting, the autocratic club destroyed its work products, whereas the D group gave these objects to the school or took them home for parental approval.

It is not difficult to imagine that school and college classrooms are conducted in autocratic, democratic, and laissez-faire ways, that these ways of working with people are widespread throughout the world. What we would have the student perceive is that the study so briefly outlined dealt not with some fanciful bits of child life but with miniature social systems the like of which make up the teacher's normal workaday world. Leader and group, group and leader are integral parts of the same whole, each mirroring the other. As a rule, the relations are so interwoven that cause-effect-cause sequences lose much of their technical meaning.

For the present, and subject to later qualification, we shall conclude from studies of the "atmosphere" type that effective group leadership must be based on an understanding of group dynamics. Every group has an over-all personality, a unity that changes according to the inner and outer pressures put upon it. Group output, whether of material work products, of personal well-being or of social growth, depends to a measurable extent on the leader. Autocratic control is a technique of ignorance, a scheme that defeats itself in the end. *Laissez faire*, "the good fellow gone wrong," does not even realize the mental-hygiene values now stressed so roundly by group workers as essential in our life.² Democracy, while demanding skill and insight, is productive of high morale, a marked degree of team-

² For example, Grace Coyle, *Group Experience and Democratic Values*, Woman's Press, New York, 1947.

work, and creative talent. Judged by all its products, it would be hard to argue for any other way of conducting school life.

CHANGING GROUP STRUCTURE

To change the individual, one must change the group, or so reads a major theorem in group-process education. Exceptions are admitted, but they do not disprove the rule, representing an individualistic approach to the change problem. To alter the structure of whole groups is never an easy undertaking and success, when it does occur, is always partial, always tentative. The Crestview project will give point to these generalizations, providing a concrete situation in which to discuss further problems of group study and changes.

THE CRESTVIEW EXPERIMENT³

At a state educational conference, the school consultant spoke on sociographic methods of group study, including ways of changing classroom social structures. Among the persons expressing interest were a social-studies teacher and the guidance director of the Crestview High School, a highly rated suburban school. These persons, with the principal's approval and support, proposed to make a study of a tenth-grade social-studies class, a group of forty-odd children in a flexible "core type" social-problems course. The only change made in routine procedures was that the teacher would move with the class into the eleventh year. The consultant became a member of the planning group, visiting the school over a period of two years.

Basic Study Aims. To guide the two-year study-action project, a cluster of aims was defined. We wanted to determine by sociometric test the friendship structure of the classroom, to study the "attractions and repulsions" that bound together this seemingly average student group. From these friend choices and rejections, sociograms would be made for the first and second semesters of the initial year, showing continuities and changes over this period. We wanted also to stratify these adolescents by use of the Warner technique of social class analysis and then to see what light status ratings would throw on friendship patterns.

With these base lines fully known, the second-year program could

³ Taken mostly from Lloyd A. Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th Grade Class," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (1945), 250-261.

be started. Its general aim was "to improve the learning situation by democratizing pupil attitudes and group relations." For the first part of this experimental year, the approach was to be via individual guidance, chiefly the conference technique, and for the second part use was to be made of group management. In both instances, changes desired in the group were to be specified so that success or failure could be measured.

The Crestview Community. As a community, Crestview cannot be briefly typed. It is a suburban town of about five thousand, in the shadow of a great metropolitan city. Though chiefly a residential area, the town has a thriving socioeconomic life of its own. Three-fourths of its people are native white of native parentage, with the remainder about equally divided between foreign-born and Negro. Most of its workers have jobs in the city factories, shops, and offices. Close to a hundred family heads own their own businesses, usually small businesses, or work in professions. Over half of these are members of the "old crowd," in distinction to the "new crowd," a name given families who have "just moved in," i.e., lived in the community less than five years.

At least three-fifths of all families are said to "own" their homes, with property values ranging from a few thousand dollars to over \$25,000. Wealth is fairly well concentrated in the "old crowd," with five kin groups reported as "running the town." A sense of "old family," while much less evident than in New England or the South, is distinctly present. People speak of "the best families," the well off, the average, the "poor people," and the ne'er-do-wells. Most local clubs are of the country club type, with members ranging over two or more class levels, but there are a score of exclusive, informal inter-family cliques.

Stratifying the Adolescents. As participants in local affairs, through home visits and informal talks, supplemented by social survey data, we had hoped to stratify large segments of the total population, even to build community sociograms. Both of these tasks proved too much for us, although considerable work was done. As our several kinds of facts were brought together, the study committee felt reasonably sure of the presence of a three-level class system. Further study, covering in all three months, led us to judge that about three-fifths of all Crestview families were middle class, 70 families were upper or near upper class, and the remainder were lower class. Knowing the homes from which tenth graders came, we had one important index of adolescent position in the local class structure.

Instead of assigning pupils the status their families seemed to occupy, it seemed fairer to use these *home ratings* in connection with two other types of data, each type being viewed as of approximately equivalent worth. Put otherwise, we knew that parental status would carry over to the school; in fact it might well be the prime determinant of the social class system in the school, a point invariably assumed by every child stratification study we have examined. And yet, since it was the school order that we wanted to define, the committee felt that data should be obtained as directly as possible from this world of young people. These facts would then be weighted as equal in worth to home backgrounds in assigning youth to status positions.

Our second set of data defined the *pupil's reputation among his peers*. By use of a two-page combined "Guess Who" and "Show Me" form, followed as needed with interviews in the school's "guidance checkups," we secured reputational ratings on such items as dress, grooming, language, boy-girl behaviors, and moral ideals. For example, a question might read, "who always keeps very clean," or "uses bad language," or "will make a big success in life," or "is liked by everyone," with space for writing in pupil names. "Guess Who" questions were explicit descriptions of character types in and about the school, with instructions to fill in the names of persons known to fit the roles depicted or else to answer by writing "nobody" in school.

Since these tests sought only reputational ratings, we did not think it necessary to validate findings by comparison with external criteria. If a child was named as "dirty," or "smart aleck," or "a real leader," or "liked by everyone," the judgment might or might not be true; yet the child had to live with this reputation, to make his adjustments to other pupils in terms of it. On internal consistency, test items as judged by two specialists in testing and by intertest comparisons came well up to expectation. Average reliability in test-retest correlation was 0.82, a figure that compared favorably with other studies of the same kind.

Our third type of data, in some ways the most revealing, came from observations as to *who ran with whom as an equal and an intimate*. We simply kept a record of these associations at school, in school affairs, student hangouts, etc., placing each tenth grader in reference to associates of a high, middle, or low prestige rank, as determined by inspection of the two preceding types of information. Marginal cases were left as marginal, a practice followed throughout the study.

In using these several kinds of data to bracket children in class levels, we did not proceed in any mechanical fashion. In every case,

the study committee used its best judgment in assigning prestige ratings, thus introducing a subjective element but one that was known, hence under some control.

Sociometric Study. Since a number of sociograms of the high-school group would be needed, it seemed best to make an indirect approach. By this is meant that the point of the study was veiled, that friendship data were not at any time during the two years discussed with students, parents, or others outside of the small planning committee. We drew up a one-page blank on "extracurricular activities," asking tenth- to twelfth-grade students if they wanted fewer assemblies, more dances, school movies, and so on. This blank, with changes in activities, was given five times during the two years. (After each administration, a report on student interests was made to the student council, a report promised in the survey and its apparent motivation and justification.)

Midway in the study form and toward its end were the two sociometric questions. One asked for the names of best friends in the school, "one, two, three or more, or none, if you wish," and the other for the names of students whom "you don't really like, wouldn't care to run around with," one, two, etc., as in the first question. It was believed that these queries would be overshadowed by interest in extracurricular activities, an assumption supported by sampling interviews following the test. Friendship data were scored and charted by the consultant, who, by agreement with the study committee, gave each student a number, which was later changed into a fictitious name.

Some General Findings. The two group sociograms, Figs. 27 and 28, were the major products of the initial year. They hold two points of general interest. The first point, as seen in Fig. 27, is the basic structure of this 'teen-age group. Here are the usual sociographic patterns—the *isolate*, W, Will, B, Bob, etc., not chosen as a friend by any classmate; the *pair*, U-V, Una and Violet a mutual choice; the *chain*, R-Ro-M, Ralph *et al.*, a series of one-way choices; and the "cluster" with its "star." The "cluster" we shall call a *clique*, and there are two types. The H, or H-T, grouping, Howie and Tom, is an open clique with leader role constant but members shifting and authority shared, whereas the G, George, clique is closed. Leadership is centered and autocratic, and members are unchanging. There is also in the sociogram the *all-group leader*, notably L, Lois, although no *factions*, as found in some studies, were evident at this time.

In general, the interpersonal and group-wide network pictured in the sociogram is about what we have come to expect in 'teen-age class-

rooms in primary communities. Almost three-fourths of all positive choices, in sum 96, fell within the tenth grade and all within the school. A majority were within own sex, own status level, with *out-choices* being most common in boy-girl attractions, *up-choices* most frequent in claims on high-ranking "stars" by middle class children. Negative choices, while not depicted in any of the published material, were more or less the reverse of these trends.

The second point has to do with the number, nature, and direction of friendship choices. Inspection of any sociogram in the two-year study

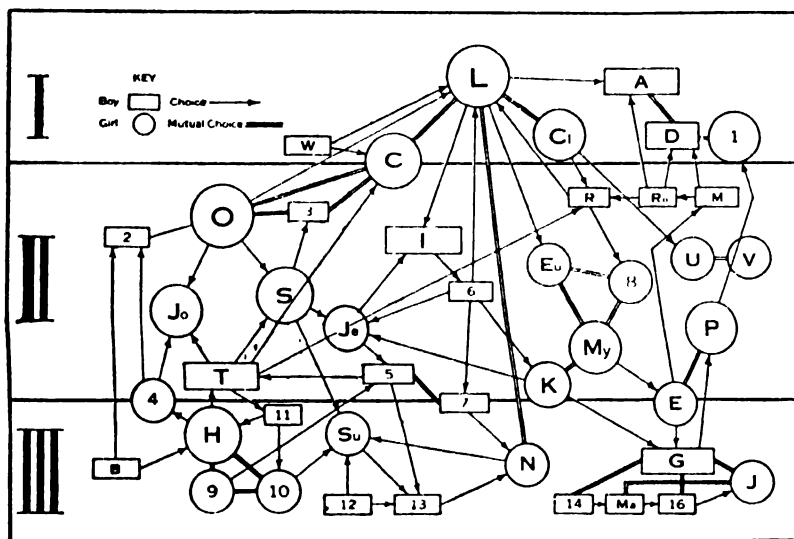


FIG. 27. Crestview group structure, October, 1912. Roman numbers show social class levels of 10th-grade students as determined from background data, associations, and personality characteristics.

will show that upper class children received far more than their fair share of top-status ratings, that is, they were greatly preferred as best friends. Mostly, these children chose their own friends from their own social class level, a trend found also among middle and lower class youngsters, a general preference for one's own kind. For each class level, about a fourth of all choices fell outside that class level, a percentage that increased as a result of the second-year group-guidance program.

Questionnaire data support and in part explain these sociographic findings. Upper class children were greatly overrepresented in the

distribution of high ratings, for example, best-dressed, most liked, most fun, real leader, and so on. At the opposite extreme, lower class children were seldom given positive ratings except by other lower class children, with most of these youngsters casting votes for middle and upper class pupils. In negative ratings, lower class children were named with marked frequency by pupils at all class levels as "not liked," "behaves bad," "dumb," and "fights a lot."

Middle class children gave twice as many positive ratings to upper class youngsters as to those from the lower class. They viewed both

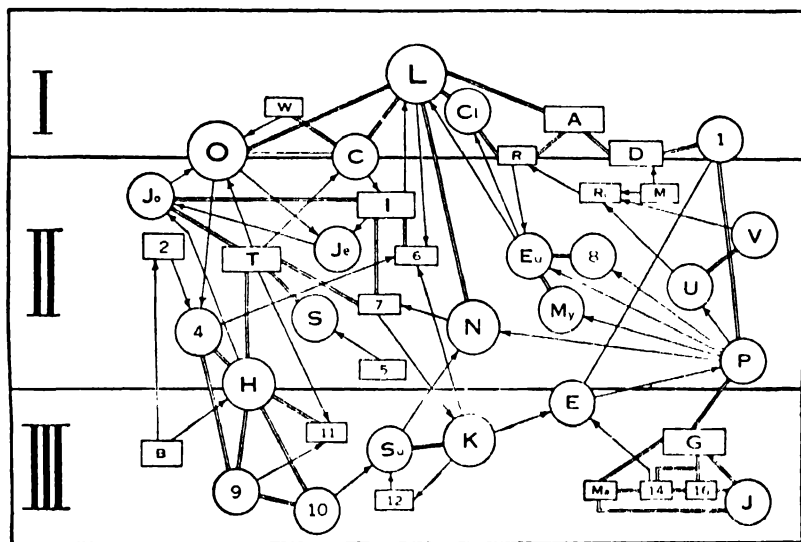


FIG. 28. Crestview group structure, continuity, and changes, April, 1943.

their own and upper class levels as "sharp," "rugged," or "solid," in contrast to bottom-level "drips" and "jerks." The phrase most often used by these low-rated children in referring to upper status pupils was "the sissies," the "sissy crowd," the "snobs." Apparently, the social distance between top and bottom levels was so great, the contacts so few and formal that neither level had many friends at the other level. Middle class children named some friends at both top and bottom levels, a general characteristic of the adult middle class.

Stability and Change. It has been argued that friendship choices are changeable, that they do not last, hence are not a good index of group structure. Figure 28 gives a check on this point. On comparison with Fig. 27, it will be seen that the group structure has changed

little over 6½ months of time.⁴ For example, Lois is still the pert little queen, though Olive is in better position to contest her leadership. Bob, a crippled boy, names the same two friends but is still unnamed by anyone. The George clique, while a bit more unified, is much as it was. All in all, *stabilities in contrast to changes are about five times as numerous*. R, Ralph, has moved to or into top-status ranking, the children whom three out of each five middle class mothers want their own youngsters to have as friends. T, Tom, star athlete and social extrovert, is a fine example of middle class talent mobility. E, Eloise, a quasi-member of the rowdy George clique, has lost status, owing chiefly to her growing reputation as a "bad girl," and J, Jan, is in an even more intimate relation with this lower class boy group.

The Experimental Second Year. It was from these data that the study committee planned its experimental second year. The general aim, as was stated, was to create a better learning situation, a more friendly and interactive classroom.

Assuming that no teacher could do much with forty some students, we began to spot experimental cases. B, Bob and J, Julie were to be "integrated into the group." The George clique was to be "broken up." N, Nancy, P, Pat, and J, Jan were fairly obvious "sex problems." U-V, Una and Violet, a tightly woven "crush relation," were in need of a wider circle of friends. L, Lois we felt should be "dethroned" and taught a more honest and pervasive concern for her classmates. O, Olive was to be guided toward increasing responsibility as a group leader.

It was here, about halfway through our cases, that committee unanimity ended. This is, no doubt, a way of saying that our problems changed in character. They were no longer common-sense and behavioral but deeply internal and attitudinal. For example, T, Tom and K, Katie were both well-liked middle class children, extremely sociable and upwardly mobile. And yet, as we cannot show briefly, each was a prime personality problem. Tom revealed a "rigid, or conscientious," character structure; Katie, a "temperamental, or scattered" pattern, and both were in need of mental-hygiene help.

In all, 15 subjects were selected for experimental work, as marked in Fig. 29 with a bar. Six were boys, nine were girls; three upper class, seven middle, and five lower. Age range was from 15 to 17 years; I.Q., 90 to 115, with two cases above normal grade placement

⁴The September, 1943, sociogram has not been reproduced. It shows the high stability of friendship patterns over the summer.

and two below. Three were social isolates, one an aggressive clique ruler; three were sex problems, one a domineering class leader, three talented potential leaders, two in an unhealthy pair relation, and the remainder subjective personality problems. We did not regard these adolescents then, nor do we now, as anything other than a mine-run sample of almost any high-school class.

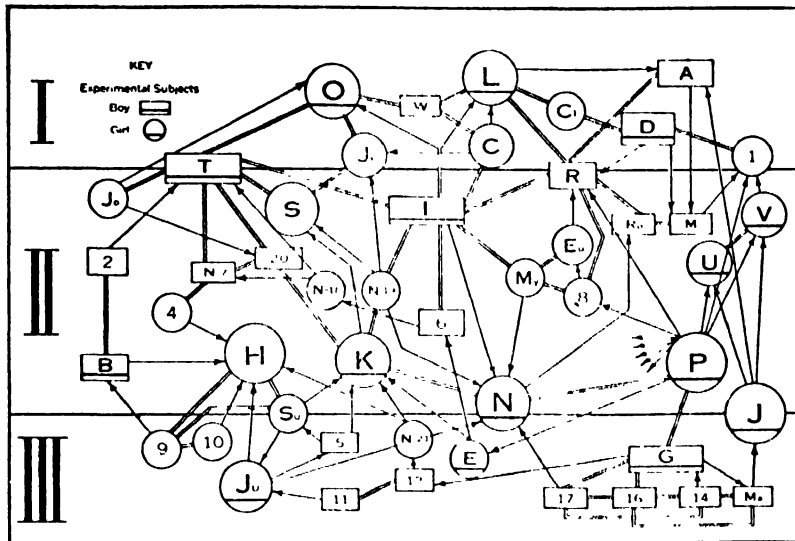


FIG. 29. Changes made in Crestview group structure by use of individual pupil guidance, November, 1913.

Individual Guidance Procedure. The aim the first semester was to use individual guidance, defined as "the adjustment of the individual to the group." Change was not to be forced upon any child; yet no effort was made to set up a fully "permissive environment," if such is ever possible, or to engage in "nondirective therapy." Our task was to guide these children—to give direction, meaning, and support to the changes they wished to make. Our technique was almost wholly the private conference, a guided interchange of ideas; adaptive, emotionalized, and suggestive but not, we believe, too insistently so. From 5 to 10 sessions were held with each of the experimental subjects, each lasting from 15 to 30 minutes or more. No child was told that he had been singled out for study, and we had a perfect cover in the recurring school-wide "guidance checkups" for all students.

It was with George, the clique leader, that we scored our great fail-

ure, and a sample interview will suggest our general procedure. Rough, tough, and happy in his role, George remained negative to the last, until in fact the Army took him over.

SAMPLE GUIDANCE INTERVIEW

G. Here comes George, bad old George. I'll flop here. (Pulls a chair to the window, sits with his back to the teacher.)

T. Hello, George, you know I like to talk with you. Do you like to come here?

G. Ok, Ok, I guess. No need to. Not a need. . . .

T. Well, I've been thinking about this. What are you going to do when you finish school?

G. (No reply. Picks up a magazine and thumbs pages.)

T. Tom says he's going to war. He is going to be. . . .

G. (Interrupting.) I don't care what. . . . I got my eye on something. A bomber pilot. . . . that's it, a bomber.

T. Then you'd have a crew, wouldn't you. I read a story about that. The pilot and crew were a team.

G. (Finds picture of a Flying Fortress. Studies it.)

T. It was in England. . . . The crew liked that pilot. He got along with everybody. . . . They would do anything for him. Once, over Bremen. . . . That took courage, didn't it, George, courage and teamwork?

G. Yeh. He had what it takes. He ran his gang. He told 'em what. Nobody argued back, that's it.

T. There was a big dance one night at the base. Lots of girls were there. . . . Everybody liked the pilot. He was friendly and got along with everybody.

G. (Making a personal interpretation, as the teacher had intended.) I can take care of myself. I run my gang. Let the rest of them (the class) go hang. I don't care a damn.

T. I didn't tell you all about that pilot. He had a problem, a tough one. . . . You see, he wasn't afraid to talk things over. It takes courage to do that.

G. Who's afraid? I ain't afraid. I'm stubborn, that's what. I'm stubborn.

T. That pilot was stubborn when the flak hit. Remember? That wasn't bad, was it?

G. Naw, hold on. Hold on and fight, fight. Keep on fighting.

T. Should one change his course sometimes, like the pilot did? You know, be a little different, a better leader?

G. The sissies (referring to his classmates, but not his own gang).

T. Tom likes you. Others like you. I would make a bet that. . . .

G. Rises; kicks at chair. With an "I'll be seein' ya," he walks out of the room.

This was the sixth conference with George, each a little more directive. It can be argued that we did not know how to deal with the boy, which is quite correct. In all fairness, George was no easy chap to influence. Out of one scrape into another, his clique broke into an unoccupied house just after the above session. They drew crude sex symbols on the walls, carried away removable fixtures, and built a fire on an upstairs hardwood floor. They made a pallet out of old blankets and, with Jan, engaged in sex intimacies. A name on a piece of paper gave the thing away. George's father, as did other dads, professed complete surprise. His most revealing remark was: "I didn't know the kid was doin' nothin'. I'm gonna kick h—l outa him twice a week, reg'lar."

We failed with George, but how and why are still conjectural. In committee opinion, we worked on a false premise. The boy was a star in every sport, a school hero of first-rank importance. Having great prestige in the school at large, he could be indifferent to or aggressive toward classmates and teacher. Neither class nor teacher had anything to offer him that he wanted, no way to motivate status strivings, to shake his supreme self-confidence; hence the reeducative process could not get started. Our mistake was not to recognize his solid anchorage in the school and to work from this angle.

Changes Made by Guidance. What can be said, in general, about our success or failure in using individual guidance? It will be evident, in comparing Figs. 29 and 28 that Lois is less popular, less in position to swing the class as she likes. Olive has advanced in best-friend choices into a place of all-class leadership, an effect we worked for. Bob, the isolate, has made one mutual friend and been named by one classmate. Julie and Dan, also isolates, have done less well: yet some outreaching is apparent. Tom and Ikie have won acceptance from higher ranking peers, with the Jewish boy the major link between the Olive and Lois factions. Lois has dropped Nancy, a newcomer to the community and a distant relative, to check her own imminent downward movement, and Nancy has begun to make middle class friends. Elizabeth has broken with the George clique, and Katie also seems to be leaving bottom-level associates.

Of equal interest are the changes we could not make, the attractions and repulsions too strong for us. The George clique is better integrated than before, with one new member. While Jan is on the way out, Pat or Nancy is likely to take her place. Pat, in particular, is in an insecure position. Her individual sociogram, for instance, shows that she names 13 classmates as best friends and rejects 5, whereas no

one except George and Nancy accepts or rejects her. Such a gap between self-conceptions and group acceptance is not uncommon, but in this case it is, at least in part, a result of too much guidance, an over-stress on friend making. Una and Violet remain inseparable, with only the latter showing any effect of our efforts.

Changes of another type should be mentioned, alterations that happened without being intended on our part. For example, Josephine, a confidante of Olive, has moved inside a four-way upper status grouping, a cluster of leaders united against, more or less, the Lois faction. In this faction, Ralph has assumed a key position, a mediator role between lesser units on both sides, a part, as case materials show, that he plays to perfection. Arthur, the young H. M. Pulham, Esq. of Crestview's youthful elite society, cannot quite make up his mind to become a real fellow, to make and keep friends below his station in life. The fact that he is named by Jan, the Kitty Foyle of the group, is more than we can explain.

Group Management Technique. We shall turn now to what is, perhaps, the most interesting part of the experiment, the group-management approach. While an eye was kept on experimental subjects, our target was in truth the whole group. The aim was to teach what someone called "the spirit of willing cooperation," an ideal running counter to dominant core values in our culture, hence not easy of achievement.

Assuming that democratic attitudes and skills could not be taught or well-taught by teacher talk or by sitting and listening, we planned to start "activity projects" in which all pupils would want to participate. A large measure of power, the power of decision, was to be lodged within the group and the group guided in using this power in the interest of all its members. Our concept of teacher role was patterned closely on Lippitt's "democratic group leader," though it varied somewhat with changes in the social situation.

Use was made of three types of projects. The first consisted of fun parties of which there were seven, such as after-game hayrides and stunt nights. Each was organized by the class with only incidental help from the teacher. The second type of project comprised social-service activities, of which there were three, and the third type two rather immature attempts at sociodrama.

The principal social-service project was a three-week "scrap hunt." The teacher had "wondered" at two class meetings if the group "could help more" in current war activities. The idea of collecting scrap—paper, tin foil, razor blades, rubber, etc.—arose at the next class meet-

ing. It was proposed by Howie and supported at once by Olive and Tom. Seeing that it stood to win a following, the teacher began to make rough notes. While a "flow chart" of this sort fills several pages, excerpts from it will help to clarify the group process.

A SCRAP DRIVE

DEFINING THE SITUATION (SECOND SESSION)

LOIS: Each one bring stuff. (Superior air; unenthusiased.) That's the way.

HOWIE: No, not that way. Bring lots and lots of stuff to help win the war. Everybody bring stuff.

LOIS: You can, Howie, all you want. Bring what you want.

TEACHER: Is the idea to make a real drive, an all-out drive?

CLASS: Yes, yes. (Nods; no opposition.)

OLIVE: Oh, I would like that. It would be fun. Can we?

HOWIE: Sure, like I said. Let's get going.

TOM: What we need is organization, like on a team. On a team, you get things done.

PAT: Go every place and ask everybody in town for stuff. Go all around.

TOM: But first we need organization. Got to have that . . . like a team.

LOIS: Who will be president to run it?

NANCY: Ask Miss E—— (teacher). Who, Miss F——?

TEACHER: Well, in our country we vote our choices. We elect our leaders.

SUE: Yes, we elect. I nominate Tom.

RALPH: I nominate Lois.

TOM: I nominate Olive.

(Others named. First ballot: Tom 12; Lois 14; Olive 10. Second ballot: Tom 22; Lois 14.)

ORGANIZING THE GROUP (THIRD SESSION)

TOM: Let's get going. I guess we need some committees. (Goes to blackboard.) What gangs do we want?

DAN: Committee on junk.

TOM: Let's break that up. One on waste paper, that's one. (Four areas are defined. Lois, then Olive, chooses a committee and these fill up.)

TOM: Wait a minute. There's two other committees. . . .

PAT: I could take the one on tin foil and stuff.

TOM: You be on it. Let each team elect its captain.

TEACHER: Will we need a group on transportation and one on publicity?

TOM: Sure. Katie you be on publicity? Who'll see about trucking the stuff? You, George?

GEORGE: Thanks, pal. That's work.

IKIE: Dad's got two trucks. Guess he'd loan 'em to us.

TOM: Ok. (Writes Ikies name down.) Now what else?

MAINTAINING MORALE (SIXTH SESSION)

TOM: Now we'll have committee reports. Ikie, you report.

IKIE: All set for Saturday. Got two trucks and need four more loaders.

TOM: Who can go along? (Two volunteers.) Dan? Howie?

DAN: No can do. Sorry.

TOM: Well, we can't flop now. Got the stuff and we gotta get it in. Dad said it's the best thing the school has ever done. . . .

HOWIE: I'll go if you'll go, Tom.

TEACHER: Tom works Saturdays (at a store). Is there anybody who will go with Howie?

SUE: Will said he'd go.

WILL: Sure. You come on too, Sue?

SUE: I'll go.

TOM: Good work, gang, good work. Now for the fat committee.

JULIE: People don't know about fats. . . . Mom didn't.

PAT: Our committee seen everybody, most everybody.

JULIE: Not mom, I know she ain't been seen.

TEACHER: Do you have a list of places where you've been?

PAT: No, we didn't make any. We tried to do a good job. We worked hard. . . .

TOM: Ok, Pat, you've done ok. Let's check where your gang has been. . . .

EVALUATING RESULTS (NINTH SESSION)

TOM: Quiet down, quiet down. This is our last meeting unless you want to go on. Lots of scrap to get in.

SUE: I'm for going on. . . .

LOIS: Let's do something exciting. Have some fun.

NANCY: Ask teacher what. What, Miss E——?

TEACHER: I've been amazed at the work you've all done.

TOM: Work and sweat, like the guy said.

TEACHER: Has it all been worth doing? I wonder if it has.

KATIE: Look at the stuff we've got. (At Tom's prompting, reads amounts collected.)

OLIVE: Fine, Katie, fine. It looks good to me. Let's go on.

NANCY: I like this better'n studying. You learn more.

TEACHER: More of what, would you say?

BOB: Getting stuff in. Doing your part. Being ok.

TOM: Like a team, I'd say. We put it over. The town can count on us.

TEACHER: Yes, it was a big job and all of you put it over. Every teammate did his part.

GEORGE: Old razzle dazzle. I don't go for that.

DAN: Dad said it's ok. We oughta go on and finish up. I move we go on.

HOWIE: I move we go on, too. (A chorus of seconds.)

GEORGE: Ok, suckers. Include me out.

Such work stands in sharp contrast to formalistic or parliamentary efforts at teaching group action, as observed in many classrooms. While member roles invite detailed comment, we shall simply state the general theory. The aim was to teach the class how to manage the group process, *to work together as a self-directing team with a job to do*. The teacher's role was to lead the leaders, to see them face choices, perhaps to make "mistakes," at least to the point where the total project was endangered. And then, in terms of our theory guiding learning, intervention was necessary. Education was to be safeguarded so that more education could go on. Thus a group of this sort is not unlike democracy itself—always falling apart and always, we hope, being saved by the resourcefulness of its leaders.

The third approach to group management was via sociodrama. We started with a persistent student gripe, the ever-present "youth problem." Why does Crestview have a youth problem? Why doesn't somebody do something? After a little warming up, ideas came as fast as they could be written down. These wants, wishes, tensions, etc., formed the basis for a series of character parts, each with a central emphasis. Students built them up themselves, and a listing will suggest their content.

CHARACTER PARTS IN A SOCIODRAMA

Father, no interest	Father Crestview, go slow, boys, go slow
Mother, worry	Average boy, "nothing to do"
Minister, morals	Average girl, "nowhere to go"
Businessman, costs	Youth leader, modern ideas, a youth program
Farmer, work, work	School superintendent, discipline
Police, "whatya up to, go home"	

It would be hard to overstress the realism with which these roles were enacted in two experimental sessions. There was no rehearsal, no coaching, the flow of conversation being impromptu and accompanied by much student plotting and planning. It was intended, after students felt at ease in the sociodrama, to use it as a way of discussing the group's internal problems. This was prevented by our own bad planning. Impressed with our second session, the principal invited the class to "put on a show" in assembly. The thing fell flat. Students either made speeches or else sat speechless, and all of us lost interest in sociodrama. This was a mistake in sociodrama work from which we have greatly profited.

Changes Made via Group Management. The end effect of the three group work approaches to social integration is seen in Fig. 30. This sociogram is very different from any other. It differs, first of all, in that the class is now definitely factionalized. We had anticipated such an effect, in fact tried to guard against it. While interpretations of its meaning will differ, we do not believe that this structure is wholly undemocratic. It is, for instance, quite like American

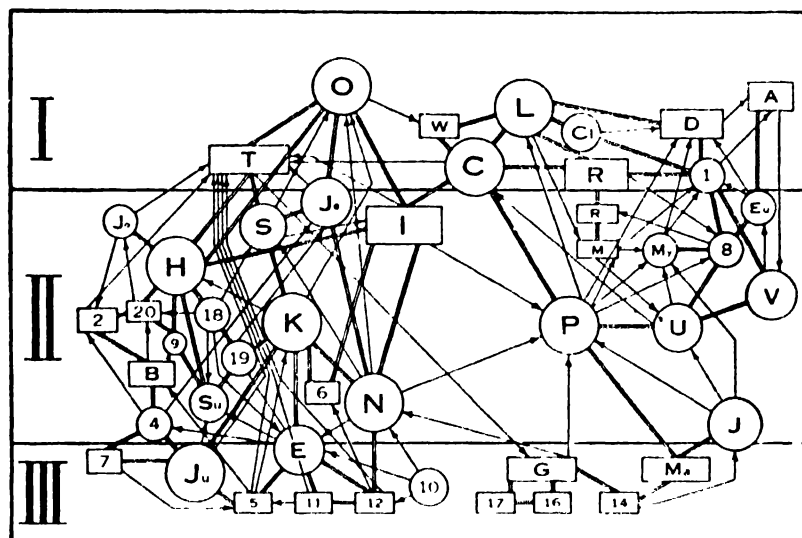


FIG. 30. Changes made in Crestview group structure via group guidance and activities, May, 1944

communities, with special interests, large and small pressure groupings. Its opposite would be, in one form, an unorganized, amorphous mass, quite incapable of concerted action.

TABLE 9. AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES BY SOCIAL CLASS LEVEL THAT CRESTVIEW TENTH-GRADE STUDENTS CHOSE AND ARE CHOSEN AS BEST FRIENDS OVER A TWO-YEAR PERIOD

Social class	October, 1942		April, 1943		November, 1943		May, 1944		Average	
	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen
Upper	2.57	3.43	2.55	3.77	3.45	4.27	3.81	4.81	3.18	4.13
Middle	2.21	2.08	2.80	3.05	4.00	4.30	5.10	5.04	3.54	3.60
Lower	2.64	2.42	3.23	2.00	3.28	2.21	3.91	3.25	3.24	2.45
Average	2.40	2.40	2.80	2.80	3.64	3.64	4.51	4.51	--	--

A definitely positive feature of the sociogram is the *growing volume of social interaction*. This can be seen best in Table 9. From October, 1942, to May, 1944, the average number of best-friend choices increased from 2.40 to 2.80, 3.64, and 4.51.⁵ Thus the trend toward greater contact is clear, and the last two averages in particular are significant. Even more revealing are comparative totals for the two school years. For the first year, 1942 to 1943, when no experimentation was attempted, friendship choices averaged 2.64; for the second year, 4.80. That this increase was due pretty largely to individual guidance and group management is, we believe, a reasonable conclusion. It could hardly be due to a carry-over from the first year, for most of these youngsters have lived and played and gone to school together most of their life.

Table 9 is of interest for still other reasons. While these high-school juniors did not vary greatly or uniformly by social class level in the number of choices made, the same cannot be said for direction of choice. At every sampling period over the two years, upper class children were "overchosen," whereas lower class boys and girls were "underchosen." Put otherwise, the trend in friend making was upward, not outward or downward. This phenomenon, with all that it implies, is a basic feature of the adult class system; thus student motivations parallel those of the adult world. The society of the school turns out, finally, to be *a reflection of the envioning social order*.

Lastly, the final sociogram shows various positional changes each of which can be analyzed out by following a student over the two years. For example, the George clique is disintegrating. After resisting a host of pressures, it is splitting up from within. While it may be incorrect to claim credit for this effect, a group-work program such as the one described does churn up a social structure. It sets going new currents and crossevents of influence, widening contacts and enforcing new adjustments. And yet, to repeat an earlier caution, the impressive thing about the whole project, and our greatest single learning, was not the changes made in the group but the group's resistance to change by either guidance method. Restructuring social relations is, we believe, more difficult to handle than it is usually claimed to be.

A study of the Crestview type has many use values in working with school groups. For instance, one scarcely dares claim to

⁵ Again, for lack of space, the September, 1943 average, 2.24, has been omitted. In all respects, and as to be expected, these data approximate findings for October, 1942.

have democratized a classroom without having pre- and end-test measures of the changes made. To give guidance without such measures is pretty much a shot in the dark. Sociograms are not difficult to make; in fact one thing that recommends this whole approach to group study is the ease with which it can be done.⁶

HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOL

When teachers talk about human relations in the school, thought centers first of all on so-called minority-group children—a Negro boy who got a raw deal, a Jewish or Catholic child, a youngster of alien parentage, the “untouchables” from across the tracks. Any such deviant has high visibility; he draws attention and incites pity. In teacher talk, he may become Exhibit A, the case proving the breakdown of fair play. Teachers are asked forthwith to take action, for example, to smash prejudice, to set up a course in intercultural education. For one reason or another, a faculty may pull itself around to the point where it comes to operate on a very simple formula, namely, to hate the person who hates others, to punish the child who metes out punishment.

Once teachers comprehend that human relations in a school are not limited to minority-group problems, they are in position to do much more realistic thinking. They may start a systematic search for sore spots in and about the school, areas where what are assumed to be normal behaviors among people are conspicuously absent. What really happens in jammed hallways as classes pass, on playgrounds, in walking to and from school, in rowdy classrooms, in teacher cliques and school-head favoritism, in faculty meetings, in the demands of pressure groups on the school? In all such situations, antidemocratic attitudes can be taught and learned in ways that offset classroom teachings.

We have been building toward the point where students will see the school as a system of interacting groups. Some groups are small, some large; some are formal, some informal. Groups

⁶ For a sociometric manual and other group-study forms, address the College Study in Intergroup Relations, Lloyd Allen Cook, Director, Wayne University, Detroit. Forms are distributed as samples and at cost.

form along the lines of normal cleavage in any school—age, sex, race, residence, social class, interest, and the like, either as “free-choice” associations or as an imposition of outside culture on the school. They are, in a realistic view, a school’s way of expressing itself and conducting the business of its members.

Each group in a school, and the number runs to hundreds, is tied to other groupings by linking individuals, a type of leader illustrated in the Crestview case. Set the total structure in motion, for instance, by a major sports event, a flagrant breach of morals, a bond-selling campaign, and there results a process, or innumerable processes, of group action. Groups cooperate and they conflict; they accept, reject, and amend. They stand firm, grow tired and vacillate; they reward and punish and ignore. They act so much like persons that one can treat them as living things.

These are group behaviors, not individual actions, and group unities and disunities, values and feelings alone make them intelligible. Group codes have a history in any school, a measurable quality and intensity. They get woven into sticks and stones, into administrative practice, into tradition, the most powerful control in all the school. To each newcomer, the “dead hand” of the past shouts a message—play fair, be square, keep your temper, or else lie and cheat, hate and steal. It is here, in the culture of the school, that one finds the frame on which its human relations are built.

A groupless school, it should be added, would be a disorganized school, a chaotic place where nothing would be safe—property, freedom, life, or learning. Since organized the school will be, the practical question is what kind of organization, autocratic or democratic? Democratic schools have their troubles, to be sure, for there is nothing easy in this type of group management. What is a democratic group like, say, a classroom group? One records with regret the fact that many experienced teachers have done little thinking on this question.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DEMOCRATIC GROUPINGS

1. Do members accept members on a basis of personal worth rather than by color, creed, class, or the like?

2. Is every member encouraged to participate in decisions affecting the life and well-being of the group?
3. Are the issues put before the group for decision of such basic importance that the group can feel that it makes policy?
4. Where opinion is divided, is a vote deferred until every effort has been made to reach a decision by consensus?
5. Is group leadership shared with others in such a manner as to stimulate the best talent in the group, the greatest effort?
6. Once a course of action is agreed upon, is there a division of labor by tasks and a coordination of the whole?
7. Do group members show a willingness to criticize their own actions, to accept criticisms, to change?
8. Are group members taught to appraise group achievements realistically, to replan in process if this is needed?
9. Does group loyalty mean disloyalty to other worthy groupings, damaging one's personal-social growth?
10. Is an effort made to transfer group learnings to other group situations in and about the school?

GROUP-WORK METHODS

Teachers have a shop-talk jargon, much the same as any other occupational group. At the opening of a school year, it will be pointed out to them that "new times bring new responsibilities," new needs set new work tasks. Such talk may have functions other than to communicate thought, or it may indicate the beginnings of a change. The change of immediate interest here is in the developing of a broader concept of teaching method, a concept compatible with the social learning functions to which schools now lay claim.

In general usage, method means a way of doing things, a course of action directed toward stated objectives. In the broad sweep of group-process education as envisioned in this volume, three kinds of methods can be distinguished: group-study methods, group-work methods, and what we shall call organizational procedures. By this latter term is meant the general setup and conduct of an over-all plan, for example, a plan of community coordination. Study methods have the primary aim of gathering data, or contributing toward understanding, whereas teach-

ing methods seek to induce changes in people, to further their own self-education.

While both experiments reported in this chapter illustrate group work, group guidance, or group-teaching methods, we want in this connection to call attention to educational films. In some ways, they represent the best demonstration of newer group-work methods now available, so that any criticism of them is a dissatisfaction with the progress we have made, the stage we have reached in developing what may become in time a major change in social learning technique.

Among the good films with which we are acquainted, the McGraw-Hill *The Broader Concept of Method* is outstanding. A teacher first makes a conventional question-and-answer approach to a textbook problem, why a community needs parks, how people should behave toward them. No pupil can recite the points listed in the book, and much defensive action is made evident. After roundly scoring the class on its failure, the teacher walks out of the room, and a "gripe session" ensues. To show a better approach to citizenship problems, the teacher returns and the same scene is played over. Presently, some pupil raises a question about the school cafeteria. Why is it so noisy, so dirty, so conducive to destructive behaviors? Can anything be done about it, any changes made? This starts the class on a campaign to do something about a prime school problem, to make the cafeteria an orderly, friendly place. Everybody is full of ideas, committees are set up, and the action moves without a break to a highly successful outcome.

Use of such films is always to be recommended for they sensitize teachers to the details of a group-work program. But they tend to make group-work teaching much too simple, too mechanical, because they dodge problems that are inevitable. For example, what goes on in committee discussions? What blocks to thinking appear? How much time is wasted in learning how to do committee work? What types of persons never seem to make good committee members? How can one further their education? These are not new questions to teachers, but they are matters on which all of us have a great deal to learn.

We shall comment now on two aspects of the total group-work problem, phases that seem central to its use and improvement in and about the school. One phase has to do with the *means* group workers use to motivate learning, a problem of how anyone ever aids any other person to learn. If learning is a social activity as was said, then teachers will need to study the means they commonly use to motivate a classroom group.

MEANS USED TO MOTIVATE GROUP LEARNING

1. By an appeal to emotions, interests, prestige, and so on
2. By use of fact, the nature of things, how things work, probable consequences of action or inaction
3. By use of pressure, notably group pressure, the focusing of group attention on the individual
4. By personality impact, *i.e.*, a desire to be like some person, to pattern oneself on him, believe and do as he does
5. By providing an experience, direct or vicarious, for example, movies, field trip, etc.
6. By threat, an extreme form of pressure involving few or no choices, an inescapable consequence
7. By a promised reward for some desired action, the reverse side of the threat technique
8. By situational control, that is, by restructuring conditions to favor a behavioral change in people
9. By physical punishment, pain as a motivator of action

This listing needs to be studied with caution because it is by no means complete. College students react to it with mixed feelings, viewing some means as good, others as bad, others as doubtful, all in a moral-ethical sense. For example, what is group pressure, and should one ever try to use it for good ends? Can an end result be good if the means are bad? What makes democratic human relations democratic?

Without more ado on means, we want to turn to group-work *methods*, used here to mean systematic teaching procedures, a combination of many different elements. For instance, the conference is a teaching method, a composite of assumptions, hypothesis, procedures, and the like. Let us take a problem raised before but not discussed, the problem of working with an irate parent. While the situation is interpersonal (teacher-parent)

rather than groupal, it needs reflective thought and an answer can be applied to group-teaching activities.

Here is the parent, coming at the close of a school day, angry through and through because you, the teacher, have failed the parent's seventh and most promising offspring. The woman spouts words like a torrent, reacts to her own behavior, growing more demanding, more unfair and abusive by the moment. Your time is limited; your feelings are hurt; yet as you begin to get your thoughts in order you know that anger should not be met by anger. You make other assumptions, for instance, you assume that there may be some little truth in what the woman has said, for you do not claim to be the perfect teacher. Moreover, you not only want to get this issue settled but, if possible, to make a friend for your school.

In line with whatever assumptions one does make, he will hypothecate methods, thinking this, that, and the other. One can leave the room on some urgent errand, giving himself and the mother time to cool a bit. One can try decisive action, meeting force with force but not in anger. One can objectify the situation by inviting in the principal to arbitrate a decision. One can proceed via assumptions: "Now, Mrs. Jones, I know how much you are interested in May's school progress, how much you want her to do well, etc." One can create a diversion, drop something, break something, divert attention. One can reverse roles, asking the parent to imagine that she is the teacher, has to pass judgment on such and such evidence. One can, of course, accept the parent's definition of the situation, do whatever she suggests.

The procedure we propose is still a little different. If words keep up, each outburst inciting the speaker to more extreme statements, the first problem is to stop the flow of language. While listening attentively to what is said, take a sheet of paper and a pencil, timing action so as to make it impressive. Define the situation by saying simply: "Now, Mrs. Jones, this seems to be a pretty tough problem, one on which we need some record. What was the first statement you made about me?" If the answer is forthcoming, write it down; if not, retrace Mrs. Jones with: "Now, let me see. You said I was an old so-and-so. Is

that correct?" Slowly, carefully, write the statement, holding it before Mrs. Jones to read and confirm. Go on to the second charge, the third, and so on. Meantime, Mrs. Jones will have become much less voluble, may even have begun to sweat. Writing does something to people the full import of which we do not understand, and this is especially true for the kind of person who would verbally assault a teacher. If writing alone does not turn the trick, suggest somewhere along the line that, after the record is complete, "We can both sign it as a true account."

What has been said so far may not be interpreted as a true conference procedure, in a technical sense, although many conferences are by no means sweetness and light. The solid fact is that Mrs. Jones is now ready to talk sense. She has not been shut up, or insulted, or mistreated in any perceptible way, but the teacher now has a chance to get at facts, to suggest a plan of action, to make a friend.

In many schools, about the only formal group-work technique that can be found, the only procedure with any systematic thought behind it is the "group activity," or project plan, as illustrated in the Crestview scrap drive. Elsewhere, other methods are in experimental use. In the list below, we have not confined examples to the schools, since the group-work approach to learning is found also in a wide array of nonschool groups.

COMMON GROUP-WORK TEACHING METHODS

1. Group activity or project
2. Conference method, resolving conflict
3. Field trip, community study
4. Panel, round table, symposium
5. Sociodrama, role playing
6. Workshop technique, committee system
7. Group interviewing, therapeutic
8. Complacency shock, shock therapy
9. Group process and product observers

While several of these methods will not be understood, we shall leave their definition and illustration for later chapters. It is an interesting exercise to speculate on the assumptions under-

lying each of these procedures, the hypotheses on which they proceed, and the actual operations to be done.

IMPROVING GROUP-WORK OUTPUT

By this concept is meant the amount and quality of group products whether of material goods, such as toy airplanes or factory assembly-line autos, or of nonmaterial things such as group decisions, changes in attitudes, the feeling values for which people strive. Research in this field, while still young, is fairly conclusive on two counts. Where the measured output involves material products, persons working together under definable conditions of groupness produce more than they can by working alone. Second, group processes produce values which no one can achieve in isolation, the emotional satisfactions, the feeling of place and belonging, of self-respect and achievement, which are as basic to man as anything can be.

From our standpoint, every teacher is a change agent, a worker with group members to improve their output. He is a teacher-leader, leading via a group's natural leaders, its talented persons, both in school and community life. To anticipate a student interest in leadership, we shall conclude the chapter with some general suggestions along leader lines.

SOME LEADER SUGGESTIONS

1. All around leadership has at least four dimensions—leadership of technical expertness, of emotional concern, of skill in managing the group process, of good judgment in all sorts of pinches. Shape your growth in all these areas.

2. First contacts with any group are crucial. One gets along better if people think he is like them than if they suspect him of trying to make them over. To identify with a group, a leader must show in his language, his feelings, and behaviors the goals for which the total group stands.

3. No two groups are ever the same in any basic particular, including readiness for integrated effort. To move a group into action before go-signs began to appear is to end with a committee report, duly filed and forgotten. Correct timing, in terms of obscure symbols, is of crucial importance.

4. Learn to spot a group's most able members. You cannot lead,

but they can if you are wise enough to help them. Lead through leaders, giving all the thought needed to their motivation. Do not assume that any two are identical, that all will respond to the same specific stimulation.

5. Avoid like Satan ever being jockeyed into a position of accepting responsibility for a group's program. It is their program, not yours, their ball to carry with your assistance. While you are not the signal caller, neither are you a group's errand boy. Find your proper level for professional service.

6. In group discussion, learn to maximize agreement by minimizing differences, by ignoring unproductive efforts, by objectifying conditions. In deadlocks, lift thought to the next higher level of abstraction. Learn the arts of compromise, and avoid a vote just as long as you can find a new approach to consensus.

7. Almost any group, if let alone, will structure itself along authoritarian lines, for people want to dodge the task of thinking, to be told what to do. To democratize planning, this need for security must be met in a score of ways, for example, by increasing participation, reinforcing suggestions, reviewing progress, and keeping the atmosphere permissive.

8. Remember that publicity (via press, gossip, etc.) can backfire with fatal results to any program. Evaluate its use in process through "feed-back" sessions on effects. Nothing makes better material than names, concrete cases, and dramatic evidence of progress.

9. Method patterns (conference, sociodrama, etc.) are important, but personality is of greater worth, giving to every approach its final color. Think of your personality as a tool, a technique, for working with people. Experiment with it to determine its most effective ways of functioning, its strengths and weaknesses.

If group process is to be well managed, knowledge must transcend the hints and recipes offered in most advice to teachers. It must also go beyond the prescriptive stage, the mechanical sizing up of a situation and use of plan A, B, or C. Even though suggestions are directive, they should never be viewed as formulae to be learned, a substitute for insight, experience, and good judgment.

In general, teacher-leaders are concerned with two end products. One is the improvement of a given situation, the solving of a practical problem, and the other is, where possible, a contri-

bution to the knowledge of group dynamics. While the two goals are not necessarily incompatible, they do at times conflict. With us long ago, a decision was reached to put emphasis on solving practical problems, to stress group process, with research results coming out as they may. We make the point because the need is very great for basic experimentation in this field, a function which most teachers find hard to manage. Every teacher could do smaller studies, but it remains for research specialists to move this work ahead, to provide guides to promising practices.

Problems and Projects

1. Have you known teachers whose behaviors in their classrooms illustrated the kinds of leaders seen in the Iowa "atmosphere studies"? Give examples of these behaviors, and tell how pupils reacted.

2. Make a sociographic study, omitting the stratification part, of some group to which you have access. Consult Helen Hall Jennings, *Sociometry in Group Relations: A Work Guide for Teachers* (American Council on Education, Washington, 1948 85 pp.).

3. How would George, the clique leader in the Crestview case, have been better motivated? Try a sociodrama on this problem, using the approach you think would be most effective.

4. How does an experimental study differ from other kinds of studies? Does the Crestview project fit your definition of experimentation? In what three basic ways can sociologists do experimental work? Report in class on F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (Harper, New York, 1947).

5. Compare the conception of group work, group management, etc. given in this chapter with that developed by Robert Hoppock, *Group Guidance*, Chap. I, Introduction (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1949).

6. Distinguish between the means and the methods of group-process education. Can you make important additions to both of these listings?

7. Make a study of group work in some boys' club program, social settlement, church youth society, or the like. What means or methods are used? How are results evaluated? What suggestions can you make for the improvement of the program?

8. Reread the "suggestions to leaders" in the concluding section of the chapter. Which points, in your opinion, are best? Which ones are not clear or of doubtful value? Think up additional points for the improvement of the list.

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CHAPTER 15

CONTROL OF DELINQUENT GANGS

Time was when schools showed little genuine concern for child misconduct problems. For example, in a country school years ago small boys thought it smart to smoke in sight of the school, to flaunt the principal's orders. Smoking was pretty much a seasonal affair, peaking when corn silks were dry, for these were the "makings." Boys simply stepped across the road from the play yard, passing out of school "authority." That times have changed, are changing, goes without saying. With misconduct of all kinds increasing, with each new set of statistics setting a record, what is truly *citizenship education* must be the concern of every school. Pre- and inservice teachers know this, and so do school heads. When these groups list "group-work problems" on which they most need help, the control of "kid gangs" ranks high in importance.

Misconduct problems, including delinquency, take many forms, have many consequences, show many school and community efforts at control. What to include in the chapter is, therefore, a question. As usual, the start is with cases, the life experiences of two boys who would have caused no end of trouble in any school. If the schools they attended are to be blamed, it is for not doing what could have been done to reorient these young people, to make use of current knowledge in delinquency prevention. What the outcomes might have been is anybody's guess for there is nothing easy or certain about delinquency control.

CHILD PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Children come to school with years of living, with their past wrapped about them and pushing them on. If teachers are to understand them, they must of course know their backgrounds. They must know the social forces playing on young people, the

environmental pressures building personality. The boy, Stanley, is not at all typical of school children. For this reason alone, he is of great interest. Such youngsters have always been a challenge to good teachers, a test of the one great impulse that brought them into teaching.

Stanley's life will give a reader few pleasant moments. It is as puzzling as it is dramatic and pathetic. "The kid never had a chance," is a common student verdict, a viewpoint denied by other students. Most of his life the boy lived in two back-of-the-yards areas in Chicago and then, for a few years, in a Hyde Park middle-class district. In and out of trouble for 17 years, he made the rounds of the state's institutions for delinquents, learning more crime in each place. His home life was bad, his school life the same though little is said about it. "Gangs," he once said, were his "educators." He was undersized in stature but strong and was of average intelligence. The fact that he was a prodigious reader, chiefly of crime tales and adventure, may account in part for the literary quality of his life-story.

STANLEY, THE JACK-ROLLER¹

"To start out in life, everybody has his chances—some good and some very bad. Some are born with fortunes, beautiful homes, good and educated parents; others are born in ignorance, poverty, and crime. In other words, Fate begins to guide our lives even before we are born and continues to do so throughout life. My start was handicapped by a no-good, ignorant, and selfish stepmother, who thought only of herself and her own children."

The boy's mother died when he was four years old and his father remarried a year later. Like the father, the stepmother was of Polish stock; both had come as adult immigrants. Her husband had died and left her with seven children. On marriage to Stanley's father, she brought her family to live at the boy's home, a flat of four basement rooms. The father, while said to be "a good provider," was not affectionate toward any of the children. Soon Stanley came to hate his stepmother with "a burning hatred."

"My father and stepmother began to argue and quarrel about us children. From a quiet woman, she changed into a hell-cat full of

¹ Adapted from Clifford Shaw, *The Jack-Roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1930. Used by permission.

venom and spite. The first time she struck me was when I was in my favorite nook behind the stove. She pulled me out and beat me. After many beatings I became more and more afraid. My father gave me no comfort. He spent his time at work, at the saloon, and in bed. Never did he pet or cheer me."

As a consequence of this mistreatment, the boy spent increasing time on the streets. His boon companions were William, a stepbrother, and Tony, a neighborhood gang leader. The latter in particular was "a guy to look up to," brave, daring, and strong. From the gang, Stanley claims to have learned many petty delinquencies, including stealing and sex misconduct. These activities were the grandest kind of play.

"I began to have a great time exploring the neighborhood. This romping and roaming became fascinating . . . because it was freedom and adventure. We played 'Indian' and other games . . . then we gathered cigarette butts along the street and took them to the shed, where we smoked and planned adventures. I was little and young, but I fell in with the older guys. He (William) taught me how to cheat the rag peddler. He also took me to the five and ten cent stores . . . and would direct me to steal from the counter while he waited at the door. I was usually successful, as I was little and inconspicuous. How I loved to do these things! They thrilled me."

Stealing was a common practice in the area and more or less condoned by parents. Often the stepmother sent the boys to the market to steal vegetables or to boxcars to steal merchandise. Youthful thieves admired older ones and patterned on them. With all this excitement, Stanley was not contented. When accused of leading William astray, he ran away from home.

"For the first time in my life I was out of the hole called home. But where would I go? A boy of six years and four months. I didn't lose much time, but went back to our old home in Bridgeport. I met my old chums and told them I was bumming from home. We played together all day, but at night I got afraid and lonesome. I roamed the streets until late at night, and then found a dry spot under a doorstep, where I curled up and slept till morning. Thus I roamed and begged and stole food until four days later, when I was arrested."

Having run away once, other times were easy. In fact, he ran away so often that his father got tired of going to the police station after him. For the most part, the boy went to the West Madison Street district, an area of slum institutions and "human wreckage." "My feelings," he writes, "were to roam without a care." He said that school never appealed to him; it was like "being confined in a prison all day." In

school, "I would sit and think of traveling. I always wanted to play hooky." After one of his repeated truancies, he was arrested and confined in the juvenile detention home. Here he met young delinquents of all kinds and was impressed with their exploits.

"Inside the Detention Home I found a motley crowd of aspiring young crooks. In their minds they had already achieved fame in the world of crime, and proceeded to impress that fact upon the other boys. The whole thing seemed to be a contest . . . to see who was the biggest and bravest crook. The older crooks are gods and stand around telling of their exploits. Much of it is bunk, but they succeed in making the other boys believe it. I listened to the stories and fell into the web myself."

After his release and on the way home, he stopped along West Madison Street and begged money for a movie. Two days later he was arrested for picking food out of restaurant garbage cans. Time and again he is released from the detention home, runs away, and is re-arrested.

"Everybody knew me at the Detention Home, and they were always looking for me to come back. They saw that I was hopeless, so they booked me for a hearing. Everybody thought there was something wrong with me. They had my head examined to see if I was 'dummy' and I guess they found I was, for they said I'd have to be committed. I was becoming a dangerous character, for the teachers at school said that I was 'a menace to society.' Now that was strange for I was only a harmless little boy of eight who had a roaming instinct."

At the age of nine, Stanley was sent to a parental school. The "quiet and peaceful" country was a novelty. From the first, however, he resented the school's inflexible discipline. Among the forms of "punishment," he names "muscle grinders, squats and benders" (calisthenics), whipping, deprivation of food, and strenuous labor. Finding no congenial companions, he withdrew into himself, taking pleasure in "childish dreams of the world outside." On the third day, after being paroled home, he left to forage for himself. He slept under a porch along West Madison Street and in the morning was awakened by a policeman. This time commitment was to St. Charles, a state school for problem boys. Stanley was elated. "I was going out on a train ride, and it would be the first one in my life."

From first to last, his attitude toward St. Charles was hostile and resistive. Here again he encountered a great variety of young delinquents. He writes at some length concerning the "criminal code," a chief feature of which was to trust no one and never "to squawk on a

pal." Here, too, he developed reading and daydreaming as compensatory adjustments to the "monotony" of institutional life.

"I learned to read books and to dream, and these books took me out of my miserable surroundings into a new world of novelty. I read all of Alger's books, some of them many times, and other books of adventure, and dreamed of becoming a success in the business world, like Alger's heroes. I wanted a chance to make good, for I had the ambition, but who would monkey with a little mite like me?"

Released on parole, Stanley reentered public school but was unable to settle down to "such monotonous work." Soon he was returned to St. Charles and here he made up his mind that when he got out again he would go "so far away that they'd never find me." This time he was paroled to a farmer.

"The farmer was full of pity for me. He had a nice wife who was very kind, and they took me out to family parties and picnics, gave me extra money and were nice to me in every way. But I began to dream about being in the city with the lights shining around me. The call was inevitable, and I could not fight it off, so I became dreamy and indolent about the work. The farmer bawled me out . . . so I planned to leave."

For weeks after running away he begged and stole, found and lost a number of jobs, went to live with a woman of the streets, and wound up in the same school for boys. On release this time, he had "a little ambition to make good but expected some help." On arriving home, he was told that his father had died, news which he received without comment. After supper on the first day, William introduced him to the gang as a boy who had "done time three times." "They made a place for me immediately," writes Stanley, "and I told them about my experiences."

The next morning he found a job at a spring factory where he worked for five days. "I was fired for smoking in the toilet, but I hated the work anyway." Another position was lost for "joking and fooling around." With \$12 in his pocket, he planned to run away for good. "Feeling great, I spent my money right and left."

After another trip to St. Charles, the parole officer found him a job in an engraving company. This is the most romantic part of the boy's varied career. The company's vice-president took a personal interest in him, bought him clothing, took him into his own home, and intended to adopt him as a son.

"The first day at the foster home was like a sweet dream. The new luxury seemed to dazzle and blind me. My new father rode with me

to work every morning and home in the evening. We had nice lunches together at noon. He talked nice to me, gave me spending money and good clothes. But I missed the old pals and the gay life we had lived. Here I did not have any boy chums, but had to spend my time playing the victrola. My foster parents didn't have much life, but spent their time reading and playing a tame game of cards. They had lots of company of snobbish people and they looked down on me. My adventurous spirit rebelled against this dry life and it soon won out."

The break came one day when Stanley bought a punch on a punch-board. The president of the company saw him and asked him not to gamble. The boy promised and then, as soon as the official had gone, bought the whole board. He sold all the punches and, with \$20 in his pocket, he "debated temptation and right. Temptation won without a struggle."

Accompanied by two chums, Stanley boarded a freight for New York. He was arrested in Michigan for "bumming." After returning to West Madison Street, he organized a "United Quartet Association" for "jack-rolling bums" and burglarizing homes. Encouraged by a number of successes, the gang grew more reckless. The inevitable happened, and Stanley was sent to the state reformatory at Pontiac. Here his "education in crime was continued by experts." Being a "punk," he failed to rate with older inmates and hence resolved "to do a real job next time." On release, he went to live with a half sister in a better neighborhood than the one he had been accustomed to. The boys of his own age in this area were problems to him. He could not adjust to them by his usual techniques, for they lived in a different world.

"These fellows were all working and doing well. They knew that I had served time. I overheard their remarks and they peevd me. Many times I got into brawls on that account. I tried to mix with them and spent my money lavishly. I was ignorant of their ways, and they looked down upon me. What could I do? I couldn't fight the whole bunch at one time and that was the only way one could fight them."

Job after job turns out to be "humdrum," or else "some person tried to tell me what to do." Disgusted with life, the boy drifted to Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he struck up a friendship with a girl of his own age (sixteen). On the return of her steady beau, the two boys fought and Stanley came off a poor second best. Again "disgusted," he beat his way back to Chicago—promising Ruth he would write, a promise that was never kept.

His regular "rackets" soon brought a sentence to city prison. "I planned to be more careful next time," wrote Stanley, but "Fate" had something new in store for him. Feeling "broken and confused," he decided to drop in and see Clifford Shaw who had talked with him in city prison.

"I arrived at my destination . . . rang the bell and was admitted. Mr. Shaw greeted me pleasantly. I started to apologize for my coming and my rags, but he interrupted by saying: 'Forget it, sit down and make yourself comfortable.' He was very happy that I had come, and said that he would get me a job and a new home. He already had a new set of clothes for me, which I put on immediately. That made me feel much more respectable. Mr. Shaw's friend came in, and we sat around talking that entire afternoon. I got to telling about my experiences and they showed great interest. We all went out to dinner and spent the evening together."

Shaw found Stanley a job and a home as promised. Moreover, the boy was encouraged to write his life history, a first step in his reformation. The home in which he was placed "radiated warmth and comfort." Mrs. Smith was "a pleasing personality," her son was "not a tough guy but a gentleman," and the two daughters were "refined and intelligent." The boy's reactions to these influences are readily apparent.

"When I went up to my room that night my mind was flooded with feelings and emotions. I compared myself with Mrs. Smith and her children and saw the awful contrast. They took me at my face value and treated me as if I were an honest young man. The whole thing seemed strange and beyond my comprehension. I pictured myself in a good job with nice clothes and able to act like respectable people."

The new neighborhood struck him as "in utter contrast to the back of the yards," and the new life had many appealing features. Yet he longed for, and at times lapsed back into, the old life. The curious thing is that these lapses were never complete.

"At times when I would feel blue, I would often go to the West Side, to see my half sister and to be with the gang. But I compared this neighborhood of squalor and filth with the beauty where I lived and saw the difference and was disgusted to think that I felt drawn to the West Side. Yet my pals held lures over me. I felt close to them, yet I was beginning to think myself above them. As I began to think myself above them, I began to break away from them. They noticed the change and told me that I was getting stuck-up, and that pleased me more than anything else."

Little by little the boy adjusted himself to the new conditions. All his problems and doubts were told directly to Mrs. Smith and Mr. Shaw. Neither ever upbraided him but told him that, with more education, he could fit completely into the new life. Despite marked progress, the loss of his job sent him back to West Madison Street pals.

"I did not worry about my dismissal. Going out of the building with my pay check, I walked on air. I had money in my pockets and I was free. I went to a baseball game, to movie houses, and idled my time away. Working for a living is similar to jail in one sense, and that is the monotony of working at something which is not interesting."

Evenings were spent in petty gambling and days in search of work. Job after job was found and lost in much the same way. One instance is typical. After working for a few weeks in a mail-order house, he was dismissed for refusing to take orders from a cheek girl. In his words, "I simply told her where to get off at." Not until he began caring for experimental animals at a hospital did he find a job to his liking. "No more was work monotonous." He respected the young interns and he liked the nurses. More than ever before, he saw the need for an education.

"Mr. Shaw had talked to me many times about getting more education. When I started to work at the hospital and associated with well-trained people, I saw the value of education. I enrolled in evening classes, and began to complete my high school education. I liked school. I was learning things and doing things that I liked to do, and by going to school I solved my greatest problem, gambling."

This new point of view was further fixed by his contacts with a girl whom he later married. Wanting to look well in her eyes, he began to pattern after the conventional social types at the hospital and outside. One example is illustrative.

"In the morning going to work, I would board the elevated. Sitting in the car, I would try to imitate some of the big businessmen by scanning a morning paper hurriedly . . . and putting on an air of reserved dignity. I felt like somebody and wanted to act like one."

While Stanley had moved a long way toward the conventional mode of life, the battle was not yet won. An attendant at the hospital was offended by the boy, a fight ensued, and Stanley was discharged. There followed in quick succession a number of jobs but none brought to light anything new in his occupational history. At last, and in a tentative manner, Shaw talked to him about salesmanship. He said, writes Stanley, "that he felt that I was especially qualified for this type of work." On his very first trial, the young man found the work "the

most fascinating" he had ever done. It challenged his best abilities and at no time was his moderate success in doubt.

Four years after his last term in city prison, he writes about his home and his work.

"I am now settled in the warmth and congenial atmosphere of my own home with my wife and child. For once in my life I have something worth while to work for. I want my child to have all the advantages denied me. Already I have taken out a life insurance policy which will mature when he is old enough for college. Nothing in the world could now take the place of my wife and child in my life, as they mean everything to me.

"Salesmanship is hard work, but I've learned to like it. It pays well and it puts a fellow on his mettle. You have to know how to meet different types of people in an easy and diplomatic way. I get a big kick out of putting over a deal on a customer, especially a stubborn customer. I have not gone back to the stockyards for almost two years. I want to forget the people over there."

Thrilled with the way the case has developed, students want to know at once what more has happened to Stanley, how did he finally end up. Some years after his story ends, the present writer visited him in his Hyde Park home. To all appearances, he was a successful young salesman, living a normal life and happy with his family. He believed a remarkable change had taken place, although he had no coherent theory as to how or why. He felt for certain that schools had played no part in his reformation; yet he was a firm believer in "the right kind of education" for his son whom he still planned to send to a college.

FROM PETTY MISCONDUCT TO ADULT CRIME

Where the Stanley case shows the general development of personality, the next reading deals with *ganging*, the name given the behaviors found from urban tot-lot bunches to adolescent street-corner crowds. Rocco Marcantonio, son of immigrant parents, was the leader of such a group on Chicago's west side. Five of the seven children in this family completed a grade-school education or better, are employed, and lead a law-abiding life. One brother, Tony, while "singed with crime," has learned that it doesn't pay, a lesson that never came to Rocco. Why he took

the turn of the road which he followed from childhood through adolescence is anybody's guess, a problem on which students like to reason. The case is not atypical of child life today in metropolitan slum areas, for teachers in these schools have made to us quite similar reports on their children.

THE "42" KID GANG²

Beginnings in Truancy. My schooling at Dante was regular and I attended to my work while there. I always, from a very small child, wanted to be an altar boy, and one day when one of the altar boys came and told me that I was chosen, I was very happy. I went to church every morning, arose at 6 and served the 7 to 8 o'clock Mass. The altar boys were my playmates. There was a little clublike room in the basement where we played games. In the wintertime we went to Hull House and spent some time in the playroom. Sometimes I went on hikes. I was never truant from school.

After we moved to Taylor and Sibly, I had to transfer to the Rees school. I arrived from Dante in the fifth grade and with a good record. I first met Peter and Louie in this room. At Dante I had never bummed. At Rees I didn't like the school because I didn't know anybody. Once in a while we would bum and run back to the old neighborhood. It was always in the afternoon so I could wait for my friends. We got so we would go to school only once in a while.

Conflict with the Family. I began to have trouble in school and it was reported to my father. He talked to me and punished me. It was time, too, for my lessons for confirmation, and my father transferred me to Pompeii school. Here I behaved a little better. The principal gave me a talking to right at the beginning. Later I began to find my old friends again. I was kicked out of Pompeii and went back to Rees, where I quit in the seventh grade. By this time we were bumming and stealing.

My parents used to be notified by mail that I bummed yesterday. My mother at first tried talking and pleading with me, sometimes with tears in her eyes. "What's got in your head, Rocky? Why don't you go to school?" "I don't like that school," I said. But she never gave these notices to my father. One day the teacher brought the letter herself. She gave the letter to Albert and asked him to give it

² Adapted from John Landesco, "The Life History of a Member of the '42' Gang," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 23 (1932), 964-988. Used by permission.

to father. He did that night. From then on my father arranged to be notified by the teacher about my absence.

After a few beatings at different times, he got disgusted and let me go. There was nothing said between us; he would just frown at me. At the table I would sit as far away from him as I could. One day he said, "You are not going to school. You are just bumming around. Why don't you go to work?" Then I got my work certificate. From then on I bummed all day every day, and at home told them I had a job.

Every morning I was out at 7:30 and returned at 5:30. On Saturday, I brought home ten dollars as "pay." When one of them asked me, I told them I was working downtown at the Board of Trade.

How my mother found out that I wasn't working, I don't know. When she did, she began to ask me how I got my money. I tried to lie out of it (stealing). "If your father finds out, he'll kill you. Where did you get your money?" I told her. She cried and said: "Don't do that, Rocky, you'll go to jail and never come out again." It always hurt me to see her cry, but I couldn't change. I met those fellows (the gang) every morning, and when I said I was going to look for a job they'd laugh at me. Albert's warning has always been, "You'll wind up in the gutter." He always had another set of friends.

First Rackets. We first started stealing from clotheslines while bumming from school. The first day we went out west, near Oak Park. We took the street car, with a little sack under our arms, filled it and came home. We "picked" silk shirts and would sell them for only a dollar or two apiece. We would shoot craps on the sidewalk, buy delicatessen, go to shows, and worry the girls.

Our next racket was robbing pennies. One of us would take a sledge hammer and with a partner start down Roosevelt Road, looking for penny machines. One smash and the pennies would come rolling out. We would get four or five machines in an evening. If we were chased, we knew the streets like a book and would run through alleys like lightning, or over a fence into an open lot. We used to study getaways day and night, and we were never caught.

A little later we began to steal bicycles. We would go out to the Oak Park district on the streetcar, take the bikes and ride them home. We were partners and would use the same basement storeroom. We would sell these bikes, some worth \$55 or \$65, for \$4, \$10, or \$15. We always had a half dozen bikes in the basement.

One day a man came around and said he would give us \$9 for a 29 x .4 tire. He told us it was easy. He explained that we could get

a bar clip at a hardware store, which we did, and with it take the spare tire off the car. We delivered the tire and he gave us the \$9. Through him another customer heard of us, and these passed us on to still others. We soon got a list of phone numbers of tire customers, leaving orders for sizes in advance. Many of our customers were legitimate working people. We stole tires all over the city. I soon owned a little Ford coupé and we cruised around until we found what we wanted.

In the delicatessen store (gang hangout), we "stoshed" some of our money. I suppose the four of us in good weeks made as high as \$200. Our biggest expense then was shooting craps, and we wanted to go with girls like older fellows. We picked up two, one a German and the other Polish. They lived in a hotel. When it got hot for us, we would go over there and stay. We were suckers for those girls, bought them clothes and gave them money.

Trouble with the Police. We got into our first jam when I was about sixteen and we had been a few months in the tire business. We had our basement fixed up with shelves and marked tire sizes. When a customer wanted a tire, we would take him down, switch on the light, and pull out the right size. Getting into a jam was not new to us, as we had heard a lot from older fellows about fixing the police, springing writs, and getting bail.

We were picked up around the Empire Theater by the old Marmon squad with a gong on each side of the wagon. They took us down to the Desplaines Street station. They thought the Ford I was driving was stolen, and they had us under suspicion for stealing tires. They gave us some beatings, and we didn't know anything. We were booked for disorderly, and the court discharged the case.

After that we began to be watched and the coppers began to pick us up. I learned that when you are picked up and have money in your pocket, you can fix the cop. Twenty-five dollars will fix it on the spot.

Code of the "42" Gang. When Figlio opened his poolroom, we started hanging out there. The poolroom drew more fellows around the neighborhood who were in little mobs of two and four and eight, and the mobs got close, got acquainted, that way. It was there that the name "42" sprang up. The bunch were all acquainted; I could approach any fellow and ask him to go on a job. There was an elderly man there we all trusted. We left our guns, left our money to bank, and would drop him a fin or a sawbuck. You could eat there, sleep there; you could get your phone calls and call up the mouthpiece.

If you were "in," the mouthpiece knew that the mob boys were good. He'd spring a writ for you or do anything, and collect after-

wards because he knew where to find you and that you'd pay if you belonged to the gang. If you didn't have it (money), the boys would take up a collection.

One time I was pinched seven Sundays in a row. We never talked, no confessions. In some cases, they'd take us down, question us, beat us, and bring us up every two or three hours. One time a young copper came down, first talked rough, then slapped me in the face, but could get nothing on us. He came down later in a kinder mood and told us that he was an ex-hood himself. He did some favors for me and I met him later when I was out and took him to a good Italian dinner.

Alliance with Politicians. On election day, Vito, Frankie, Bozzi, and Chiochio were busy at the precinct polls. All the others came around. I was an election judge and Frankie was a worker with a badge. They told me that in the ward it was agreed that votes were to come out 50-50. There would be no trouble that day.

Truck and Auto Rackets. The last six months in the tire business we would go out after 1 p.m. We averaged about \$75 a week—all sweet (clear), nobody to pay off. But I thought, "if I went out with the big fellows, I'd be a big shot too." Then we started getting in with the older clique. They hijacked us into their gang, but we wanted to be with them. They were 20 or 21 years of age. They were in the big money, after butter-and-egg trucks, dry goods, and shoes in loads. They were driving Chryslers, and having bigger and better times—cabarets, shows, beer joints. We didn't know how to dress and we felt that they were smarter. They taught me how to match ties and suits, what color shoes and hats to wear.

We were down in the basement at Figlio's. Vito asked me if I wanted to try a pistol, showing me how to aim. Pointing at the target, he showed how a pistol must be aimed lower than the object to always allow for the jump. Later he sold me a .36 Colt's. The older fellows were in the pistol racket (holdups) even then. They went into the pistol racket just as the butter-and-egg business was waning.

I don't remember the first time I went out after a truck, but I can give you an instance. We met one morning at Edgemont and Loomis at the appointed time. We got into Salvi's Ford and cruised around. This cruising around sometimes took an hour before we met up with anything. At Kedzie and Flournoy, there stood a truck, butter and eggs. The driver was in the store. I jumped in the truck and drove east, Salvi and the Ford behind me. His work was to cut off anybody following me in a machine by crowding him to the curb.

We had our garage in the neighborhood. Once there, we would

unload the stuff and take the truck out of the district. We knew the places where we could dispose of the stuff and we knew the prices. The two big "fences" would buy anything. You could get money from them any time you brought in the stuff. This racket lasted about a year when I was 19 years old. . . .

We took Gene (a newcomer) for a sucker, but he was a good head for auto work. He took us out to a saloon hangout and we started taking orders for cars. By this time we knew how to take the ignition switch off, make connections, break the steering lock, and drive away. We would take orders for machines from the saloonkeeper. Bootleggers wanted the numbers changed, and we would have to hold cars until we got numbers from New York. We would write the make, model, and year, and the man would watch for cars of the same description. Then he would send us their license numbers.

Sentenced, Paroled, and a Job. In this one (and only) conviction, I got an 18-month sentence to St. Charles (Boys' Reformatory). First I was downhearted and lonesome. I didn't like the fellows around me. They were punks, wanting to be tough. I attended to work and kept quiet. I was moved to C cottage, where I met some kids from my neighborhood. One day I separated a pair of kids who were fighting, and Colonel Whipp heard about this. He called me to the office and made me a sergeant. I received no punishment in the time I was at St. Charles.

For six months after my release, I reported to a probation officer. That's the guy that got me a job as errand boy. When I went out to an employer, I tried my best not to get the job. Finally, after about four months of stalling, he took me himself. He took me to four places altogether; he pleaded with employers. I never heard anyone lie so much in one day. I worked for two months as errand boy at \$15 a week. Of course I did some stealing, just enough to average around \$40 a week. I quit the job after my probation period was over.

The Gang in Dissolution. On returning to the mob, I found that it was scattered and broken up. Babe Ruth had been killed by a cop, and Jit Pargoni and one of his brothers. The rackets had changed. The trucks had two guys on them. The police had found a way to bring out original numbers on automobiles by using acid. Other numbers hard to find (body numbers) were being put on cars by manufacturers. The police could find them through charts furnished by the company. The chain stores and later the tire war made tires so cheap you could buy legit tires for less than we sold stolen ones. I nosed around among the fellows, but they were all going out with the pistol.

We did our first stick-up in a cigar store. We stayed there a full twenty minutes . . . and we got \$700 in money and merchandise. In stick-ups, I used to go out regularly with the same two fellows. This was on no tips at all; all blind joints. Working on tips is more lousy (dangerous), unless they are the right kind. The tipster may be a stool, leak, or trap. Tipsters and bad luck come together.

We're not gangsters any more. We're just hoodlums. I'm a hoodlum and a small one at that. It would be a good thing if we had a gang and somebody with money to organize us.

What the above story shows is the process by which a fairly average boy became first a play-group member, then a truant, a petty thief, and finally a "hoodlum" in a criminal gang. One fact worth emphasis is that Rocco's career had its origins in street play groups, and in study after study the high positive correlation between leisure pursuits and misconduct is established. Second, Rocco hated school, which is a characteristic attitude of almost every delinquent child. As with Stanley, no teacher meant enough to him or did enough for him to be mentioned by name in his autobiography. Third, no criminal gang could exist without the connivance of dishonest police, crooked politicians, shyster lawyers, and the like. It could not possibly carry on if the community at large did not ignore or condone it; if good citizens did not, in a sense, elect to pay the many high costs of youthful crime.

DELINQUENCY, A POINT OF VIEW

To say that there are many, many Stanleys and Roccas in public schools, that most adult criminals start with youthful crimes, that delinquency control is "everybody's business" does little more than to open the problem for discussion. Of all that would help to establish a quick perspective, the best statement of what should be done is the simple observation that *current knowledge should be applied*. To some people, a certain amount of child misconduct is regarded as inevitable. It is the price our society must pay for "progress," like mounting traffic deaths. To hold that any young person is expendable, that he cannot live a happy and useful life, is a very ignorant point of view. The need, as we have said, is to find ways and means of applying

what is known as to the causes of delinquency, its prevention and control.

DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

1. Delinquency, like law-abiding behavior, is learned. In juvenile ganglands, it is simply what children do, how they spend their time. Put even more exactly, it is the approved way to behave, the conduct which in area tradition seems to have the greatest pay-off in adventure and excitement, status and success.

2. Aside from their value orientations, most delinquents are fairly "normal" children, not physical defectives, mental subnormals, and the like. Chief exception for many is in emotional development where immaturity, a thwarted growth toward adult control, is pronounced. Their socialization, except in area codes, is incomplete.

3. Problem children come from problem social areas, including conflict homes. Area conditions most closely linked with serious misconduct, including disorganized family life, are unemployment, bad housing, ethnic heterogeneity, lack of recreation, a tradition of crime, indifferent and academic schools.

4. Children in such areas need every conceivable kind of help in developing standards of decent living, physical health, occupational aims, leisure pursuits, moral ideals, plus the acceptance of authority in home, school, and elsewhere. In satisfying basic needs, they need to learn behaviors acceptable to the larger, environing society.

5. While strengthening home life and character-building agencies is all to the good, any effective program of delinquency prevention over a period of time must involve the entire community. It must be local in origin, stimulated and in part financed as needed by outside interests. It must be an indigenous growth, not an external imposition, with power left in the hands of local leaders.

6. Schools have a major part to play in character development. Serious misconduct starts often in petty acts, for example occasional truancy, bullying, and theft, or else troubled children show their maladjustment in extreme restlessness, emotional excitability, not liking peers and being disliked by them, flaunting of authority, and so on. The school's work is both diagnostic and remedial, including the immediate referral of children to other agencies for help if the problem lies outside the scope of school efforts.

The number of children showing predelinquent behavior in any average classroom will be small, not over 2 or 3 per cent. These

are the "vulnerables," bored or frustrated by schoolwork, a problem to themselves and to others. Whatever the nature of their maladjustment—physical, mental, emotional, or social—they should be given special help by the classroom teacher and by others whom she can summon. Campaigns are usually of little worth, in fact at times seem to be harmful, for the services needed are continuous over time and should be made a regular part of the school program.

COMMUNITY PREVENTION AND CONTROL

With space limited, stress will be placed on the total community approach to delinquency prevention, an example on a grand scale of the central thesis in group-work education that, to change the individual, one must change his groups. In Chicago, a plan has developed which has attracted nationwide interest. Convinced that delinquency is a product of community forces, that it is a normal part of child life in slum areas, Clifford Shaw and his associates have guided six urban areas in changing the patterns of their life. Rejecting the individual truant officer and probation approach, citizens have organized area councils to work from the bottom up. Each council fights formalism, keeping its program alive and changing, adaptive and unconventional. While activities include many things (boys' clubs, summer camps, youth centers) found in other programs, a striking difference is that in Chicago *area residents have complete control*. They run the show, advising with the Shaw staff, guided and supported by this staff in whatever they undertake.

THE CHICAGO AREA PROJECT³

In 1934, and after years of study, the first of six area projects came into existence at Russell Square, on Chicago's south side. This locality, comprising about fifteen thousand people, mostly Poles, was fairly small, homogeneous, and self-contained, thus in contrast to the near northwest side, a district embracing crime-ridden "Little Italy" with the highest delinquency rate in the city, or the west side, where successive waves of incoming migrants (German, Irish, Italian, etc.) each fell

³ Based on interviews with and materials from Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Illinois State Department of Public Welfare, Chicago.

heir in turn to a tradition of misconduct which remained very high no matter what the resident group. Put otherwise, as each invading people Americanized and did well, it moved on; yet delinquency rates continued unchanged. This led the Shaw workers to regard delinquency as an area product, a cultural pattern inherent in a place rather than in any specific ethnic group.

While Russell Square's delinquency rates were not high, the children, aged 9 to 18, were a problem. Their fathers had steady work in the mills; yet kids were tough and in constant trouble. They grew into "junking" and "mooching," into street fights and petty crime, much as youngsters a few blocks away absorbed middle class culture. Crime was a tradition, something one does with his pals when they all are out for a good time. There had never been a serious effort to curb delinquency. There was a park and a settlement-house, each with a ready-made program for youth, and there were Scout troupes, members of which were considered sissies. There were churches that did what they could, admittedly not much, and public schools that the boys later came to call, in wartime language, "concentration camps."

A member of Shaw's staff started work in the area. Quiet, smallish, studious looking, he went from corner to corner, alley to alley, mingling with the kids. Each street, each vacant lot or corner hangout was ruled by a gang: the Tigers, the Tomatoes, the Bears, the Stabbers, etc. On his initial approach to a gang, the group worker might bear a softball and a bat. Ball at first was "too easy" for a group to play, not exciting as compared with chasing a rival gang, and the worker was suspected of various motives. Kids thought he was a truant officer, or a detective, or a "G-man" in search of some notorious character, or simply a "do gooder," the kind they "suckered in" by their artful dodges.

Test after test was placed upon the worker. For example, he believes he never would have been trusted had he ever turned informer. To "rat" or "squeal" is gangland's cardinal sin, so that when he went on a gang fight, or even with the group to steal copper gutters off the school, they permitted him to tag along because he was "a good guy," a person not apparently connected with authority. He didn't shoot craps with them or play pool for money, claiming he did not know how, nor did he go shoplifting or purse-snatching. He was not in on their major rackets, such as hijacking trucks; yet he never lectured them on moral precepts or admonished them on their ways. Aside from being a good fellow, a friend to every kid, his tolerance brought him respect. They knew his upbringing had been different, that he stood for a differ-

ent way of life; yet he never volunteered advice. Presently, they began to form softball teams and to organize into leagues, with big championship games. All of this was at each gang's initiative, for the worker, after arranging the most favorable conditions possible, left it up to the boys.

Astute as this worker was, he admits that he could do little with the older boys, some as old as he was and with time-serving records. They paid no attention to his "foolin' around with the punks," in fact may have felt it was a good thing; but aside from trying at first to pick a fight with him, they took no interest in the work. Seeing him umpiring a softball game, a toughie would yell: "What's matter, you blind?" To which the worker would invariably reply, "O.K., dammit, referee yourself." If the dare was taken up—and at times a boys' gang was insistent—then the trouble maker found himself involved in the recreational program. Step by step, he would be drawn in deeper, if possible, by methods evolved on the spot. Both Shaw and his workers insist that specific methods are not important. In their experience, worker personality is the thing that counts. "Once a worker is alley wise, he will know how to take advantage of every opening." He will invent procedures.

All this time, the worker had been forming the nucleus of an area organization. He talked with businessmen in the community, with union leaders, priests and school heads, politicians, and other power holders. In time, they formed the Russell Square Committee and took over an abandoned parochial school. As the news spread that the area was doing something for its kids, the committee grew until it included some one hundred active adult workers and about a thousand contributing members. For years, it has met regularly, guided by its own officers and board of directors. Shaw and all his workers have steadfastly refused office in these central area committees. They rarely meet with them in a formal way, and at no time do more than make suggestions and offer staff assistance.

Much more could be said about Chicago's area councils, a scheme that has been illustrated in the Russell Square example. In general, councils are assisted financially to get going, given the service of one or more professional group workers, but then left pretty much on their own. This latter policy, more than any other, has paid dividends, for *it forces a locality to accept responsibility for delinquency control*. If prevention is possible, it must be because an area is organized to combat crime, to make

good citizenship really work. No one can do this for any people, except the people themselves, but we repeat that they must have technical and financial help. Leadership must come from the locality, from people who are known on the block. Similarly, a boys' clubroom must be their own. If they want to recount their delinquencies, to argue half the night, to plan and plot dubious adventures, they must have free reign.

It is because freedom of action is so hard for any thoughtful adult to grant, so debatable in consequences, that most character building and educational work in delinquency control has failed. Of course society has a protective job to do, a policing function, but this should not be confused with education. To educate, one must fulfill certain conditions, meet certain requirements set by children. The question for society to face is whether or not this pays, a question answered by the Shaw area projects by decreasing juvenile crime rates in every area where a council is at work. Delinquents are taught by delinquents. Can we find their teachers, their natural leaders, and lead through them?

CONTROL OF A DELINQUENT GANG

Any college class can name a score of functions a responsible teacher should perform in delinquency prevention and control. While group-work is no substitute for other measures, we want to conclude with an example in this field. More extreme cases have been rejected in favor of an average situation, an effort to use the group for the control of a difficult member, such as any teacher can be encouraged to attempt.

TEACHING GROUP ACTION ⁴

Big John, age ten, swept the paper houses, the green grass, and flower gardens off the table. He kicked over the land site, knocked down a chair, and stalked out of the room. Hang it all, he was mad, madder than he had been since whipping the punk whose place he had taken as gang leader. . . . Little John, his twin, had warned against the new teacher. "Dumb," Johnny had said, "dumb like a fox!"

Anyhow, it had not been the teacher who had caused all the trouble.

⁴ From Lloyd Allen Cook, "The College Study Program: Second Progress Report," *Educational Record*, 27 (1946), 457-460.

No, it had been the gang, his gang, in the workroom now, playing, having fun. Well, it was Saturday morning. . . . It was a fine day and he would have himself a time. He would do . . . what in heck can a guy do without the street corner gang! Big John fell to thinking about his troubles, especially the big trouble that for two days had been top-side in his mind. . . .

On one day, two weeks ago, with all the kids assembled and bug-eyed, the new teacher had given the usual spiel—"group unity," "good living," and so on. Then some stuff on "art," and then "how about a trip to the art gallery, see things." "Ok, Ok," Big John said, and the trip was on. Nobody voted against it. Nobody would have dared for John wouldn't have liked that, and he was leader of the controlling gang. On the very next day, as John now remembered, the present trouble had really started. Would the group like to experiment with some "art work," says the teacher, maybe build some houses? Again, "Ok" and "why not!" So, alone or in pairs, the Third Street Rockets, and other class members, went to work. Houses were made out of papier-mâché and, for a time, everyone kept busy. Then the fun had started—wisecracking, running about, throwing things, with gangs teaming up against one another.

About most of this, the teacher seemed unconcerned, too much so, said Little John, the brain. She cautioned against getting hurt; she put things away and locked up the cabinets. She helped those still at work and, well, kept right on about her business. At lock-up time, she said for everybody to bring some one thing for the houses.

Next morning, the group surveyed its houses. Someone asked the teacher what to do with them, and Big John answered. "Do whatever you want, dummy, they're yours, ain't they? Kick 'em over, give 'em away, take 'em home." The teacher had only repeated the question. When people build houses, what do *they* do with them? "Live in 'em," some nut had answered. "Fix 'em up, put 'em on the land." This had started another round of planning and group action.

Mostly, at noontime, the Rockets scrounged for things, though teacher had warned against stealing. There was no "land," for example, so they found an old sandbin, put it on the work table, swiped some sand, and a housing site came into being. Each kid located his house as he pleased, taking any spot he liked. Big John had gotten around to this a bit late, and every good spot was taken. With a sweep of his arm, he knocked over three or four dwellings. Taking this third of the entire area, he put his house in the center, a type of action he seemed to regard as right and natural, the prerogative of his position as

gang leader. No one wanted to make anything of it, so it went unchallenged.

Faced with such behavior, one might guess the teacher's impulsive responses, for no one likes to see a bully taking over. Instead of pinning the little toughie's ears back, thus uniting him with his gang against her, she must have felt the critical nature of the situation, the need for careful planning. To prevent *tedium vitae* from setting in, as in any period of inaction, she suggested that each class member might like to landscape his holdings and most of the youngsters went to work.

It took the teacher a day or so to get an idea that seemed worth trying. On invitation to inspect the work, a school consultant praised the homes, the gardens, and the like. "But hang it all," he said, "something is lacking. If this is a town, it just doesn't look right, not at all like the places where we live. What is the matter?" Shortly came the kind of answer that we had expected. "It ain't regular-like; no streets or nothing," said a child.

We had planned at this point to break Big John's leadership, to reach out and help class members take hold of the group process. The children did not slap down the streets, re-establishing the old order of dominance. On the contrary, it was agreed to make a study. This was to be a step-off block survey, the distance from corner to corner, and Big John appointed himself to see that this was correctly done. We may have helped him a bit to claim this leader position, but mostly it was at his own initiative.

Once the step counts were in, the group figured the proportionate reduction, drew a street plan—the usual checkerboard plan—to scale on a big square of cardboard and cut it out. All of this was done to make the trap really solid, and when it was sprung, as we had hoped, Big John was caught squarely in the middle. A main thoroughfare ran directly through the center of his baronial estate!

John fussed and fumed at first, then wanted to fight a gang member, claiming he had been framed. But here the class as a whole stood tight against him, for "hadn't he made the plan!" Now he was squealing! During all this excitement, the teacher made no accusations, offered no explanation. She simply stood by, as one must in these bitter moments, steadying the group in the action it had to take. This was a fair deal, fairly done, and consequences were binding! It was here that Big John kicked over the houses and left the room.

Once on the streets, with his gang inside, Big John had nothing to do, no one to do things with. These children were his companions, his gang was there. On the next day, an overture came to the teacher.

The "word" was that he would consider a "deal" if she were willing. She replied, through the same spokesman, that her responsibility was limited, that it was up to the class, but that she would like to help. John's re-entry into the group was effected with some face-saving but, nonetheless, on a basis that this little fascist understood—*majority rule and fair play for all!* On talking later to the teacher, he had little comprehension of what had happened. He simply responded to a force with which he was well acquainted, the push and pull of his own group.

Few teachers can expect to meet such cases, though many in urban slum areas have far worse ones with which to deal. The point may be denied; yet we speak from much current experience in such schools. Conditions in some cities are unbelievably bad, so bad that some teachers make a regular search of pupils for cutting instruments, for example, bottle tops and razor blades, and a few claim to live in fear of their life.⁵ Slum schools, as we have previously said, are the nation's worst educational institution, aside from detention homes and other places where delinquent children are sent. All of these mangle souls in ways that we cannot recount, ways that suggest their experimental reform or else their elimination as archaic and unfit to work with young people.

In the Big John case, sound principles seem to us to have been displayed. Not of course that this boy will permanently mend his ways, and teachers must outgrow such fairy-book thinking. Such children are tough, and they can easily grow tougher. The lessons they must learn must be learned time and time again before one can talk about a personality change. They are not "bad boys" in the usual moral sense, at least not bad all over as a youngster once phrased it. There is much about them to admire—courage, loyalty, brains, often an inner sense of decency and fair play if it can be tapped. Their needs are much the same as other children of the same age, to develop maturity, give and receive affection, prepare for a lifework, come to terms with authority, view themselves as part of a respectable social order. To call them names, to push them around, is to head them deeper and deeper into crime.

⁵ In the realistic novel by Irving Shulman, *The Amboy Dukes*, a street gang murders a school teacher, an event based upon an actual case.

It is common sense to start as far upstream as possible with such children, to catch them at school when they are young. Were the school program really vital, were every teacher a guidance worker, were activity projects a common occurrence, were parents tied into the learning process, were school and community coordinated—then the problem would be very slight. Until that day comes, we are inclined to watch with interest the progress of the Chicago Area Project, hopeful that the inner essence of this idea will spread to urban places the nation over.

Problems and Projects

1. Of the three cases given in this chapter—Stanley, Rocco, and Big John—which one do you like best? Why?

2. Make a 30-minute report to class on either Willard Motley, *Knock on Any Door* or Irving Shulman, *The Amboy Dukes*. Both are novels dealing with delinquent behaviors. Work out a plan for studying the book you select, including your ideas of causative factors in each case.

3. Try to secure the 16 mm. film, *The Quiet One* (Film Documents, Inc., 208 East 72d St., New York), a story of a Negro boy of 10, worthless, stupid, vicious. He plays hooky from school. He steals and smashes a store window with a rock and is sent away to a school for boys. Analyze the approach made to his reformation.

4. Why did both Stanley and Rocco view the schools they attended as "hostile environments"? What could schools have done in these cases?

5. Make a field study of some informal youth group such as a street gang, a Scout troop, etc. Consider the following outline in conducting your research:

A PLAN OF GROUP STUDY

1. Group Identification

Name, location, origins, identifying marks of group membership (name, signs, passwords, etc.)

2. Group Composition

Basis of membership, admission, length of membership, termination of membership, group size over time, group homogeneity

3. Group Structure

Over-all spirit, leadership, member roles, subgroups or cliques, over-all coordination

4. Group Activities

Group aims, types of activities, descriptive accounts of specific activities, values to group members

5. Intragroup Relations

Interpersonal bonds, status ratings, how discipline cases are handled, degrees of member concern and involvement

6. Intergroup Relations

Other groupings in the area, intergroup contacts, conflict patterns, cooperative relations

7. Relations with Adult Society

To parental authority, to recreational agencies, to law-enforcing officers, to the school

8. Conclusions and Implications

Values to participants, costs to society, implications for the redirection of group behaviors

6. What is your personal reaction to the way Big John was handled, that is, the use of the group to control the youngster? Continue the case from where it was left in the chapter, i.e., imagine the next bit of trouble into which Big John will get, and tell in detail how you would attempt to use the group in solving this problem.

7. Review Frederic Thrasher, *The Gang*. Make a 10-minute report to class on all the methods proposed as ways of working with delinquents.

8. What do you really think of the Shaw "area-project" approach? Can you fully accept the philosophy on which it is based? Explain.

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CHAPTER 16

USING COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Implicit in the community approach to education, in fact a central emphasis in all life-centered learning, is the use of environmental resources. For a decade or more, over half of all writings on school-community relations have been on this topic. Time and again, in working with schools, one receives a call to come in and help out on some resource problem. For instance, a letter as we write describes the community studies of a city-wide curriculum committee. Now, after a year, with everything in, with files overflowing, how are these data to be worked up, and to what uses can they be put? To say that the cart has been placed before the horse, that a resource is not a resource unless it is so defined by school purposes, would be unkind to this well-intentioned group of teachers.

If such incidents, and they are not numerous, justify any conclusion, it would be to point the need for more insight and planning in resource uses. Any kind of area study, no matter how simple it may appear, takes time and energy. It is work, hard work, and one should avoid it if he can—if, in his teaching, no damage is done to desired learning; if he feels unable to guide and appraise the activity; if he lacks administrative approval and support. That so many teachers find environmental aids a basic supplement to bookish education, that some schools build their program on community use, that state departments issue endless brochures along these lines—all argue that we are dealing with a field of growing promise and worth.

RESOURCE USES: SOME EXAMPLES

Cases in past chapters show various kinds of resource use; in truth it is an interesting class exercise to review cases from this angle. A few new examples will be given as they come to mind,

chiefly to set the stage for a discussion of school practices and problems. No case will be given in detail, a space-consuming task, so that reasoning must be in part inferential.

A CAT AND DOG SURVEY

On coming to a unit on "our friends, the animals," a third-grade class in an urban slum school had no animals in sight, nor could they go to the zoo to find them. Doing the next best thing, they elected to make a survey of cats and dogs in the neighborhood. They split into teams, each team taking its own street, and a house-to-house interviewing approach was worked out.

In general, these young scientists had no trouble in totting up the number of cats and dogs. They made statistical tables after a fashion and gave them graphic illustration. They classified data by white dogs (or near white), black and other colors; papa dogs, mamma dogs, and the like. They got into trouble with the cats. So far as the teacher could determine—and the question was a bit delicate—no third grader could tell the sex of anything but a mother cat with baby kittens.

We remember this survey with pleasure, although it occurred years ago. At that time, it seemed novel to use cats and dogs, or whatever life-resource might come to hand, to teach social science to very little children, to find out what they could do and understand. Since then, we have experimented further, each new venture showing conditions under which grade-school pupils can learn the elements of science thinking. One suspects at times that if children do not learn young the uses of science they may never later on learn this lesson well.

To teach community is a never-ending task, a task on which our group life and civic unity depend. That the idea may not be easy to grasp can be seen in excerpts from a discussion in a fifth-grade class.

FROM ME AND MINE TO WE AND OURS

TEACHER: The question, then, is what we fifth graders do for our village.

JOHN: Nothing I can think of. I'd say nothing.

CHARLES: Nothing for me, too. I'm too busy.

TEACHER: What do you do, Mary?

MARY: Oh, I don't know. Just pick up things. Keep our yard clean, and stuff like that.

JOHN: Yeh, and so do I. But my father makes me. That ain't for the village.

MARY: That ain't so, either. It's my yard and I keep it clean.

TEACHER: If we all kept our yards clean, would that help the village?

ELLEN: No, I say it wouldn't.

CHARLES: I say it would. Take all the yards, that would be heck. If they were all dirty, that would be heck!

CLASS: That's right. Charles is right and Ellen is wrong.

TEACHER: Do you know the vacant lot down the street a block, on the corner?

CLARK: Sure, my gang plays there. Plays ball. Everybody can play there.

ELLEN: Nobody has to keep it clean. Throw things if you like.

RANDALL: Sure, throw all the stuff you want. Nobody has to keep it clean.

MARY: Well, I'd like to know why. Somebody owns it, I think.

WILLIAM: Naw, they don't either. It's the village's. It belongs to the village, that's all.

TEACHER: What do we mean by that? Do we mean that it belongs to all of us together, that it is our lot?

JOHN: No, it belongs to City Council. It meets on Monday night. My dad is on it. . . .

LANDIS: (Suddenly joining the discussion.) But you can throw stuff there. I do all the time.

MARY: Now, that would be heck. Keeping yards clean and throwing stuff there. Makes me sick, that's what.

Here, a community problem has been brought into the classroom. The teacher sought to teach, not the externals of the community or its history, but *the spirit of unity*, the common concern and responsibility that motivate many public acts. That she was having a difficult time with her little individualists, each a "good citizen" in measurable personal qualities but indifferent to the public weal, in no way impairs the value of her efforts. Small children differed greatly in their valuing behaviors, a characteristic of the culture in which their human nature is shaped.

HOME AND FAMILY LIVING

In this ninth-grade class, the teacher had been reading parts of *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*, the parts of the novel dealing with home life and boy and girl relations. She asked if anyone knew anybody who lived like that, who had the same kind of troubles. She had hoped that pupils might bring up their own problems if given a cover, the fiction of talking about some other person, and bit by bit this began to happen. Stimulated by the discussion, pupils edged over into direct questions involving parental rules, dating practices, boy-and-girl relations.

This was the start of what has proved to be a most promising venture in personal-social living, a course with a strong guidance emphasis. The initial planning is well worth telling.

Feeling a need for family-life education, the teacher first consulted with the principal. He pointed out the age-old taboo on sex, politics, and religion but offered to approve the work if the teacher could get the backing of responsible citizens in the community. Since this was part of her plan, she asked his help in calling a meeting of parents and other community representatives.

At this meeting, the problem was explained, and the work of some schools was cited. Group members spoke pro and con on the idea, asking the teacher point-blank to tell what she would teach about sex relations. Her reply made an impression on doubtful members. She said, frankly, she did not know what she would teach, that she would need a committee of parents and others to help her plan the course and to work with her in its management.

This committee was appointed under P.T.A. auspices. At first the teacher's job was to keep peace between radical and conservative members, to help them resolve their differences. Her larger task, however, has been to educate these adults, to communicate to them the kind of life children lead, their need to reach sound value orientations. Over two years, the committee has, in turn, made various contributions. In addition to making the course possible, it has helped to give the work a very practical set of objectives. Members have aided at times in course teaching, for example, selecting a local doctor and a minister each semester to talk with the class. Most of all, in the teacher's judgment, they have discussed the course in public, even defending the teacher against criticisms and misunderstandings.

Most new ventures on the school's part, no matter how desperate the need, are well-nigh certain to meet with some citizen opposition. That is because our value orientations are dissimilar; our culture is conflicting in basic points of view. Aside from teacher skill and good sense in conducting the class, we would commend her use of a citizens' committee. Such a "resource" is valuable in several ways. For instance, it is a desirable sanction for schoolwork in doubtful areas, for any new project the school may undertake. Moreover, the committee can assist the teacher in rounding up resource persons for use in the class, and it can guide her in determining the needs that instruction should try to meet.

FOOD, BEAUTY, AND ORGANIZATION

In East Texas, Hogg Foundation consultants met with a sizable Negro teacher-citizen group at an open country school. After songs, prayers, and a welcome to the visitors, committees started their reports. As speeches were made, it seemed evident that work efforts had been very slight, that what had been done had little bearing on the practical problems faced by the school and community. The sixth report brought a laugh, giving the consultants a chance to break into what looked to be an endless series of formal speeches.

The chairman who brought the laugh, an upstanding young Negro farmer, said he was reporting for Committee Six. "Ah repo'ts," he said, "that Ah resigns," and he sat down. We were led to ask him for details, and it turned out that no member of his committee wanted to do any work or for that matter would agree with any other member's plans if they dealt with work. As the chairman talked further about his ideas, for example, the kinds of vegetables that every family could grow, we asked him more about his own experiences. It turned out that he had gone to school only eight days in his entire life, due chiefly to the fact that his father, a share cropper, had in the man's childhood been constantly on the move.

Had anyone ever heard of a certain kind of bean, especially adapted to the local climate? It would be supplied to families for planting by the foundation if, in turn, each farmer would make a report on crop yield. Other suggestions followed, each a practical, concrete proposal for the improvement of diet. One of the consultants, a university specialist along these lines, found that he knew less than the chairman of Committee Six on certain points, for example, how to bury sweet

potatoes, lining the pit with wet leaves so that gophers could not dig in.

Presently, another set of ideas got going. Why were there no flowers, no plants of any kind at the school or in the yard? Was this also true of the homes represented? Did anyone, for instance, grow sunflowers? Perhaps, no one liked flowers or would care to see them grow. What flowers and plants could grow in such hot sun? Here a difference of opinion made it possible to frame an experimental test to be conducted by children at the school, a test to determine if several different kinds of common flowers could be grown.

Poor people need so much . . . food, clothing, shelter, beauty, and the like. How do any people ever get what they need? Work is, of course, one way, and there are other ways. But what about organization? Can people by themselves be expected to get things started and to keep them going? Should meetings be held from time to time to compare results, to show any kind of farm product, and to tell how it was produced? Shouldn't each community member, young and old, men and women, try to grow one thing or do one thing, which he could report on before the year was over? If the community were really organized to do things, it seemed certain that the foundation would provide it much more help.

Conventional ways of thinking about life-resources can prevent us from seeing that a total community can be a resource, as the Texas case suggests. This has long been a cardinal principle with the Hogg Foundation, although its major emphasis is on mental-hygiene work.¹ Better known perhaps for its involvement of total communities in their own self-help is the Kellogg Foundation in its health, educational, recreational, and other work.² Two illustrations, each a Kellogg project, come to mind.

TEN TONS OF OLD BOOKS

We had known for some time that books in school libraries and in children's homes in the six lower Michigan counties were antiquated, of little use and little worth. How to increase reading and improve its quality was a problem which was hard to solve, a matter on which we could find no precedent that fitted into principles under which the foundation operates. . . .

¹ For the Hogg Foundation program, write Dr. Robert L. Sutherland, Director, at the University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

² For educational aspects of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation work, write Dr. Hugh K. Masters, at Battle Creek, Mich.

The plan evolved was worked out in consultation with local community groups, from adult clubs through adolescent groups to grade-school children. For instance, did junior-senior high-school students want new books? If so, the foundation would replace each old volume given it by a new one selected by the students. To make selection as representative as possible, books could be chosen for reading from a traveling library. After reading, they were to be discussed, a vote taken, and a list prepared of those books ranking highest in interest.

This plan met with immediate cooperation from several scores of groups, and, in all, over ten tons of old books were turned in and replaced by new ones. While no exact appraisal could be made, the project led to a tremendous amount of voluntary reading, thus extending knowledge and, we hope, improving critical appreciation.

SCHOOL, CAMP, AND COMMUNITY

Of all the community resources of aid to education, it would appear that year-round camps offer unique values. . . . Judging from a number of sources, it can be concluded that camps are of great promise and little use in schooling at any level. It is only within the past few years that any organized public-use programs have been tried and their outcomes are not conclusive. . . .

About a decade ago, the Kellogg Foundation made what can be called a pioneering contribution to the school-camp field. It offered its modern, well-staffed, and equipped Clear Lake Camp to the schools of the three adjacent communities, Otsego, Decatur, and Clear Lake, provided that the school officials, the children, and their parents could agree upon an experimental use plan. It took about three months to develop this plan with all the parties interested, a task which in itself proved to be a liberal education in organized camping.

The offer made to school officials was that the camp would be made available for use of children, teachers, and parents if it could become "an integral part" of the school system. This led to repeated discussions of the values to be served in camping, ending finally with agreement as to four large "fields of learning," or kinds of experiences in which the camp could best supplement school purposes.

AREAS OF CAMP EXPERIENCES

1. *Healthful Living.* Illustrated by such activities as bodily care, sleep, eating, clothing, physical exercise, injuries, etc.

2. *Work Experiences.* Camp chores such as preparation of meals, care of pets, waiting tables and cleanup, care of belongings and of group quarters, making camp equipment, and camp beautification

3. *Leisure Pursuits.* Games and sports, arts, crafts, nature study, reading, dancing, movies, and the like

4. *Social Relations.* The camp as an autonomous community, interrelations of its citizens, needs to be met, group planning, individual participation, good and bad citizens

While the camp site provided an ideal opportunity for nature study—in fact much was done in this field—the topic was not listed by the schools as a major interest; hence it has been put under leisure pursuits.

Within each "area of experience," a number of specific objectives were worked out, so that in final form, the structure of the experiment looked about as follows:

PLAN OF SCHOOL, CAMP, AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Areas of experience	Learning outcomes expected				Teaching situations, resources, procedure	Evaluation plan
	Fact	Attitudes	Skills	Abilities *		

* Problem-solving abilities, *i.e.*, reflective thought.

Children were to live at the camp for a two-week period. They were to come by grade levels, fourth grade to the twelfth, accompanied by one or more of their teachers. At camp, the teacher was to be in charge, assisted by camp counselors. Records were to be kept as one way of evaluating learnings, along with pre- and end-test questionnaire data and a letter written by each camper to the director of camping at the Kellogg Foundation. Data from teachers and parents were requested, but their comments turned out to be far less complete than the reactions of children.

In all, over a six-month winter period 577 persons (including 24 teachers) participated in the project. Four-fifths were town children, and a third had had no previous camping experience. Evaluative evidence runs to too much detail to be summarized here, but it more than supports the camp director's feeling that the project was successful.

In general, it can be claimed for the project that it was highly successful in the four areas where emphasis was placed. Children learned many things, had many experiences which were not possible in a school environment, and they returned to school as enthusiastic supporters of the camping idea. Teacher learnings, while not so immedi-

ately evident, have been very real. For instance, to be with children 24 hours out of the day, a literal truth in a camping situation, teaches one things about them that never would have come to light in any classroom. Finally, parents turned out to be as pleased as their children with the project, indicating in their comments that they wanted the experiment repeated, that they would do whatever they could to make the all-too-short camping period a regular part of schoolwork.

Camps are places where well-off children go on vacation or where the urban poor, the sick and homeless catch a glimpse of outdoor life. The Kellogg idea was to assemble fairly average young people, chiefly middle class, in an environment placing stress on self-help and communal sharing. Each incoming group, for example, had to develop a plan of living, to set up an all-camp council, to see that chores were done, that everyone had time to enjoy the lake front, the woods, and fields. Life was not permissive, as in some camps where camper whims are law, nor was it authoritarian as at school. Control rested with the campers, aided by teachers and resident counselors, and it is a sorry fact that few teachers felt at ease in such a system. "Having fun" rather than "learning things," was the dominant note in camper letters, although some children saw that the two were not so unrelated as they had at first thought. Local resources, physical and human, were used in many ways, for instance, various grade levels visited nearby farms and took part in the several kinds of work on which the farm family was engaged.

EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES: A POINT OF VIEW

In spite of a trend toward resource use, it would be unsafe to claim that most schools make systematic use of life materials in the educative process. Here is a school that does just that, and the number is increasing, but there, only a stone's throw away, is a school as tightly closed as possible against the "distractions" of living. The two institutions look alike, but there are basic differences, differences in educational purposes, in an understanding of learning, and in administrative policy. Children learn more from life than from books, learn better and remember longer things related to their daily living, their own present actions and future planning, and exceptions do not disprove the rule.

Where resources are used, teachers may be poles apart in their ideas and practices. By life resources, we shall mean the materials from outside the school that are used in the educative program. These may be local resources, as when a class visits a city office or social agency, or they may be nonlocal in character, as when a social-problems class visits some distant city, or the TVA experiment, or some other place to compare it with their own community, to get ideas on what people are doing about some problem in community life.

Resources, as was said in opening the chapter, are not "things out there," objective facts like the trees along a street. They may indeed be things, like historical relics, or persons, or offices and agencies, or life processes just as they go on. They may be classified as physical resources, economic, recreational, etc. But what gives them meaning as resources is the viewpoint brought to them by a class and teacher, their known or imagined value in furthering some specific learning. It is inevitable, in free public education, that "community resources" will tend to differ school by school, depending on educational objectives.

Another point is worth a moment's reflection. If resources are to be well used, it will be because a teacher and class plan together the experiences to be undertaken, the kinds of learnings expected. They will know enough about the undertaking, for example, a community survey or area-improvement project, to sense their own needs, to conduct the experiment, and to check up on its outcomes. Mishaps will occur, and new ideas will call for replanning; yet group planning is the only safe way to conduct a resources program.

Third, a single teacher trying to make her work lifelike is often a sorry spectacle. Cards are so completely stacked against her, and she must learn to live with chronic frustration. Several teachers banded together can influence school policy in important particulars, for instance, get larger scheduled blocks of time, or use of a school bus for trips, or some small fund on which to operate. The best situation is where a whole school is committed to sensible resource use, where thought has been given to what should be taught in classrooms and what can only be taught outside the walls in the flow of life.

Finally, it should not be assumed that life per se is educative, that all one needs to do is to throw children into James's "booming, buzzing confusion." Life can be as abstract, as uninviting and meaningless as any textbook. One must be prepared, therefore, to gather data on resource uses, to see what is being learned, how much and by whom. In such studies, the cases of non-learners present a significant challenge, a problem on which little research has ever been done.

TAKING THE SCHOOL INTO THE COMMUNITY

Where any kind of resource use is found, it will be an adaptation to pupil needs, teacher viewpoints, and environmental opportunities. Thus any classification of present practices will distort reality; yet it will bring to light certain features of all community-use programs. From the standpoint of the forms taken, ways of taking the school into the community fall into four overlapping categories.

EXPERIENCES IN THE COMMUNITY

1. *Observational Experiences.* These ways of contacting community resources consist of local visits, area trips, and tours at a distance, for example, a visit each year by a high-school senior class to any city of its own selection.
2. *Participational Experiences.* This is, in substance, a kind of apprenticeship relation, under partial school control. Its most typical forms are agency services, part-time and summer work experience, volunteer services in church youth groups, summer camps, and so on.
3. *Systematic Study Experiences.* The basic aim is to teach the use of science in fact-finding. Skills include the designing of studies, the collection, processing, and uses of data. Forms range from simple area surveys and descriptive studies to complicated testing programs, depending chiefly on the level of the learners.
4. *Social Action Experiences.* Action programs, while they are based on factual data, stress the achievement of an end result, say, the equipping of a tot-lot by grade-school children, clean-up campaigns, rodent control, town beautification, etc., by high-school students. At their best as a learning experience for children, action programs will involve influencing some segment of the adult community.

To react briefly to the conduct of these experiences as observed in a good many schools, it is scarcely news to state that practices range from one extreme to the other. Teachers themselves vary widely in their formal preparation for doing such teaching as well as in their common-sense knowledge. For example, in *observational experiences*, students who make trips undoubtedly form many "look-see" impressions; yet what they learn as a picture of reality is not known to the great majority of their teachers. Teachers spend little class time in appraisal, in fact are inclined to lecture pupils on what they should have seen, the questions they might have asked, how the whole thing might have been done better.

Participant experiences at the high-school level may fall short of their potential worth simply because a student at work for any amount of pay, however small, does not view happenings as educational. "Work is work; get it over," is not an uncommon attitude, whatever the age level. Unfortunately, not all schools take advantage of student needs for part-time employment or plan with youngsters to render work services even where there is no financial necessity. Work was stressed in the Kellogg camping project, and, curiously, the best work was done by workers, that is, by grade- and high-school students who had learned to work as a part of their life-experience. Wartimes especially force on teachers and parents the need to revalue exacting work activities, to help young people derive from them some kinds of learnings which can hardly be taught in any other manner.

BRINGING THE COMMUNITY INTO THE SCHOOL

For logical consistency, one should now reverse the title of the past section, thus making a complete coverage of the resource-use field. In general, the community is brought into the school in at least five distinctive ways.

EXPERIENCES AND SERVICES AT THE SCHOOL

1. *Use of Material Objects.* Nature lore, cultural artifacts, historical records, and documentary materials.
2. *Student-life Experiences.* Cultural learnings as revealed in test data, questionnaire responses, and life-history papers, plus repro-

duction of past experiences by such teaching devices as socio-drama

3. *Community Resource Persons.* Lay and professional persons of use in classroom teaching as sources of information, skill learnings, local customs, and moral values
4. *Advisory and Planning Groups.* Councils and committees which serve in a volunteer consultant capacity in working with the school on curricular or other problems
5. *Adult Community Services.* School as a center of adult community life, meetings, courses, services such as registration and civil-service examinations

In standard "methods courses," teachers learn a great deal about these ways of conducting the life and work of the school, much more in fact than they seem to know about the reverse side of the picture, taking the school into the area. A novel element in the list is the use of sociodrama, a teaching technique in which children act out the roles of parents and others as they have experienced them. Small children will show in dramatic ways dinner-table talk at home, techniques used in problem solving, child-parent and other relations. One feels at times that the whole structure of family life is uncovered; hence discussion must never be so direct as to embarrass participants. In older students, sociodramas can be used to show the nature and extent of community knowledge, for example, the local groups that have a stake in any current social problem.

VALUES IN RESOURCE USE

Where studies have been made of student reactions to well-planned uses of life-experiences and resources in learning, group reactions have been favorable, at times enthusiastic. In an unpublished study of over a thousand junior-senior high-school papers, each an unguided response to the general topic of "What This Experience Has Meant to Me," student sensitivities showed a remarkable high to low range. At the lower end of the scale were those who claimed to have learned very little from, say, a field trip, a leader experience in a youth group, a community survey, and evidence supported their claim. At the other extreme, one is impressed with the maturity of high-school students, their ability to size up situations, to absorb ideas and skills.

A STUDENT'S REACTION TO A WORK EXPERIENCE

I am a high school Senior at the East High School in Detroit. . . . For the past semester, I have been the leader of a youth group at the Eastside Neighborhood Center. This group had about 15 kids in it, mostly about the 6th grade, and we would go on hikes, play games, visit places in town and do a good many things.

I don't know yet what this experience has meant to me for I guess it will take some years for me to tell what it has meant. But I guess it has been a pretty fine experience so that there is much I can tell you now. I am glad to do this for Mr. — (teacher) said you helped him arrange for me to take over the youth group at the Center. . . .

Well, first, it is not like being in class. You know about that, I guess. All our teachers know more than I can tell about. They know the answers and they ask the questions. Well, that is not like it is at the Center.

First, you have a schedule and you have to be there, and you can't trump up any old excuse. You are responsible for the group and, boy, is that something! Those kids can get into more trouble, the minute your back is turned. You have to see that they are kept busy, that there is always something to do. You don't have any teacher with you, standing there to help you out. You are on your own, sink or swim. That is why some of these students can't be group leaders. They strike out and the director just has to let them go.

I don't know how to tell you but I have learned a lot. When Mr. — (director) talked to us at class, I said, boy, that's for me. I went down and they gave me this group. There is no pay in it but there is a lot of experience. . . . What I learned at first was to watch other group leaders, see how they did, what went over. . . . And also, I watched the kids and tried to figure how each one would act, what he would do before he did it. . . . We planned together and worked out rules for things.

I can tell you now this experience is a lot of fun. It is work and fun but I don't say that I really mind the work.

Here the learner's emphasis is on attitudinal changes, the new sensitivities, deeper feelings, and stronger motivations of which he was conscious. Passing reference is made to other kinds of learnings, notably increases in skills and in knowledge. Exact studies show that growth occurs in community-use programs in all these areas, though careful work is needed to compare the rate of change with that resulting from other academic and nonaca-

demetic experiences, for instance, the use of audio-visual materials.

The type of research needed is seen in a number of small pilot inquiries reported in a volume on human relations.³ To illustrate, at Albany, New York, three different methods of teaching a unit on "human relations" were used in eighth-grade classes in six schools, each school representing a distinctive ethnic and socioeconomic area of the city. In five of the schools, control classes were used, groups to whom the unit was not taught. Teaching was via "the intellectual approach," that is, the usual classroom reading and recitation; "direct participation," i.e., children of various backgrounds worked together to produce an end result such as a play or pageant; and "vicarious experience," defined as viewing movies, reading fiction, etc., into which children could project themselves, take the roles of other persons.

Among the several methods of appraisal, only one will be cited, a table showing the willingness of class members to accept all other members as good friends.

TABLE 10. CHANGES IN CLASS ACCEPTANCE SCORES OF 247 EIGHTH-GRADE CHILDREN *

Teaching method	Experimental		Control		Change	
	Pretest	End-test	Pretest	End-test	Experimental	Control
1. Intellectual ...	0.174	0.199	0.257	0.225	0.015	— 032
2. Intellectual ...	0.164	0.195	0.287	0.296	0.031	0.009
3. Direct	0.179	0.218	0.114	0.157	0.039	0.043
4. Vicarious	0.297	0.392	—	—	0.095	
5. Vicarious	0.230	0.269	0.175	0.184	0.039	0.009
6. Vicarious	0.217	0.317	0.169	0.182	0.100	0.013

* From *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, Chap. II.

Table 10 is read as follows. For the first group, the class taught by reading and recitation, the median acceptance index was 0.174, found by dividing the total actual number of friend choices by the potential number. On the end-test, the index was

³ Lloyd Allen Cook (Ed.), *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1950. See also a forthcoming volume, *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, an analytical study of these same college and school programs.

0.199, showing an increase of 0.015, an insignificant gain from a statistical standpoint. The control group, while starting with a much higher median, became a less friendly group during the same time period, a loss in positive feeling large enough to be of statistical significance.

What the table shows in general is the gain in friendly attitudes on the part of all experimental groups. With one exception, these gains were larger than those recorded for any control group, suggesting that each teaching method had some effectiveness in changing intragroup relations. However, gains were not great, supporting the inference that either the test lacked in discriminating worth or else, as other evidence clearly proves, any measured increase in friendly feeling is difficult to secure. Finally, the study reveals the superiority of "vicarious experience" in changing attitudes, in contrast to academic and participational approaches. Unfortunately, community-use methods, such as field trips, area studies, and agency services, were not of experimental concern, so that data are lacking on the point of major interest.

ORGANIZING A RESOURCE-USE PROGRAM

Resource use is of such importance in bridging the gap between school and community, in motivating practical learnings that the whole school (and school system) should know what is being done and what is needed and make a plan to further the school's work. Faculty committees, or faculty, students, parents, agency heads, and others can work together to plan a comprehensive community-use program with profit to everyone connected with education.

QUESTIONS A SCHOOL MIGHT ASK ITSELF IN IMPROVING A RESOURCE-USE PROGRAM ⁴

1. What are present practices in resource utilization? Specifically, in respect to usage, who, what, when, how, and why? Is resource use an individual matter, or does the school have a general plan?
2. Is the resource program cooperatively planned? Who shared

⁴Adapted from Lloyd Allen Cook, "Field Experience in Teacher Education," in John Dale Russell (Ed.), *New Frontiers in College Instruction*, pp. 147-160, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1941.

- in its planning? Is the plan revised from time to time to keep it up-to-date? Do students in their classes have the final say as to trips, area studies, and so on?
3. Is good use made of all kinds of local resources? Of nonlocal resources, notably, the county, state, and region? Have these resources been inventoried so that a new teacher can readily determine their nature and availability?
 4. Are field experiences integrated with classroom learnings, with abstract ideas made clear and meaningful in a variety of concrete local situations? How is this done, specifically?
 5. Do students themselves rate their community experiences as of basic worth? Do their off-guard comments agree with their formal ratings? Are they able to step outside these experiences and analyze them for significance?
 6. Is the field program well administered as to time use, costs, accident prevention, and moral hazards? Do teachers know the school's legal responsibilities? Is full use made of cooperating parents, citizen committees, and agency heads?
 7. Has "agency load" been studied so that some public offices, businesses, courts, agencies, etc., are not overworked while others are neglected? Is there a calendar of scheduled trips, a planning ahead, so that the central office can know in advance the needs of a student group?
 8. Is the field program, in its unit parts, continuously evaluated as to meaning and worth? Suppose it had to be discontinued; what losses would be felt? Has anyone assessed the comparative value of, say, trips, the use of resource persons, and so on?
 9. Is some fund provided for community experiences, i.e., a small budget grant, an annual contribution by school-related or local civic groups, a self-assessment by students? If so, how are funds distributed; if not, how can the resources program be better financed?

A substantial contribution to total school use of community resources can be made by developing a *resources inventory*. In the sample given below, an adaptation of a form made for use in the Des Moines, Iowa, public schools, headings and spacings can be varied to suit local needs; yet each category listed has been found on repeated tests to be functional.

In Fig. 31, the 12 columns may be arrayed on a line lengthwise of an ordinary $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ page or put across the top of two con-

secutive pages, with each page facing inward so that one can read across. Blank forms are then duplicated in the number wanted and distributed to students or others to have filled in. Workers call upon agency heads, institutional representatives, and so on,

COMMUNITY RESOURCES INVENTORY						
						Page 1
Agency studied _____		Date _____		Students name _____		
1 Agency name Street address	2 Person to contact Office and phone	3 Will welcome visit by School Grades preferred School Grades accepted Teachers, Parents	4 Sex of visitors Boys Only Girls Only Mixed Groups	5 Number at one time 1 to 5 5 to 20 Over 20	6 Best time to visit Day of Week Hour of Day Advance Notice	7 Special features and functions to observe Agency set-up Special equipment How financed Kinds of services Persons served Agency personnel Need for student services

Agency studied (continued)				
Page 2				
8 Agency will provide speaker for School Classes School Clubs Assemblies Faculty Meetings Adult Study Groups	9 List topics and problems for Speeches Panels Group inter-views and School clinics	10 Agency will supply or exhibit Bulletins, Reports Charts, Maps, Folders Demonstration of Work Films, Slides, Photos Historical Materials Office Equipment Other Agency Products	11 Will provide student contact with Individuals Families Child Groups Youth Groups Adult Groups	12 Record here other remarks impressions and observations of aid to schools in knowing and using agencies

Fig. 31. Sample two-page form for compiling a community resources inventory.

provide them with a form to guide their thinking, and write in the data wanted. Filled-in sheets are classified under some set of general categories, for example, economic resources, health resources, government, recreation, social-civic, education, religion, and so on. The completed inventory may then be bound in a

spring-binder-type cover, so that pages can be inserted or deleted and filed in the principal's office for use of faculty and students. The inventory can, of course, be printed and distributed throughout the school system.

The inventory as described has been used for some years in work at elementary, high-school, and college levels. In every case where it has been completed, measured use of local agencies, speakers, etc., has increased. Often teachers want to do more in this field than their time and knowledge permit. Supplying them with needed information is an effective way of stimulating school-wide thinking on resource needs.

SOLVING STUDY-MAKING PROBLEMS

We spoke earlier about a school that got bogged down in data processing. Even a simple study, much less a complex survey, will involve technical problems on which few teachers are informed. Teaching methods they have had galore in college courses but not, as a rule, a single course in social-science study techniques beyond, for some, a foundational introduction to statistics. To refer them to a book on social research, while sound advice, may do little good; in truth it may kill their initial motivation. While there is no easy road to learning in any science field, a minimal "use knowledge" of basic survey methods can be taught in college classes in a few practice studies.

Fact finding is, first of all, a process, and to envision its sequential stages will save a great deal of miscalculation and wasted effort. Knowing these steps, a group can plan with some accuracy its total work task.

MAJOR STEPS IN STUDY MAKING

1. Defining the problem for study, including the subjects to be studied, kinds and amounts of data needed, and general procedures
2. Making the study forms, such as a questionnaire, pretesting and revising forms, categories, etc., if preliminary tests so indicate
3. Working out a general data-processing plan, including tentative sections of the final report, main tables, and a scoring plan
4. Administering study instruments to the subjects selected as a sample, culling filled-in forms, supplementing data by additional sampling if necessary

5. Tabulating study data, scoring as a rule for total or over-all reactions, then by basic variables, finally by single items
6. Making final tables, analyzing data meanings, drawing graphs, charts, and other visual representations
7. Writing the final report for the group or groups for whom it is intended, giving care to language, style, and "action" recommendations
8. Circulating the report, securing hearings on it, and, depending on circumstance, taking whatever other steps needed to activate changes based on study findings

Steps 1, 2, and 3 are parts of a related whole, planning the study. Aside from fuzzy ideas of what is to be studied and how, the most serious breakdown in group thought tends to occur in selecting the subjects to be studied. Sampling is where many studies go awry, the common mistakes being two. A faculty may elect to include all the pupils in a school or all the homes in the community, thus taking on more work than it can do or needs to do. Or it may sense in sampling a way of saving labor, yet be so careless in its work that no one knows or can find out exactly what was done. In consequence, study findings are of little worth.

While no simple rule is adequate, the best axiom in sampling is to make the part representative of the whole by *random selection*, where each case has an equal chance with every other case of being included, or else by *purposive selection*, where limited numbers of cases are chosen in such a manner as to make them typical of all cases in the characteristics believed to be important. The first procedure can be illustrated by taking every tenth house in a city block, the second by selecting families for size, income, etc., in terms of census figures for all families. A rough test of sample adequacy can be made by adding another small increment of cases. If new averages differ from those found for the original cases, the initial sample was too small for safe conclusions.

Building study forms, like other steps in the study process, requires good insight and good mechanics. By insight is meant a perception of means-ends relations, the ability to ask the kinds of questions which will get the best responses. Whether the study form is a survey, a questionnaire, a scale, a sociographic

test, relevancy of response is dependent chiefly on the cooperation of respondents, their motivation to do whatever is requested. Life-likeness of items, clarity of purposes, over-all coherence, economy of effort are among the factors contributing to respondent interest.

Most sins in test mechanics are easy to spot and to correct if study makers feel it worthwhile to do a better job. For example, in a survey of 100 mimeographed and printed school and college study instruments—the first hundred in our files—fully a third were smeared and blotted, unclear in or lacking instructions, and so poorly conceived that one could only guess as to what the total study was about. Many items were badly framed and hence of doubtful meaning. A fifth of the forms were too long, ranging from 5 to 15 pages. Categories forced too rigid answers, permitting little choice, and space allotments were too small. Write-in replies were numerous and impossible to quantify. In total setup, the forms gave little evidence that their makers knew the value of white space and its uses.

Most of these errors might be excusable if there were not a ready way of ironing out the "bugs." A checkup can be made by talking over items with the type of person who is like the subjects that will take the test, or, as suggested in Step 2, a small pretest study can be run. A good study form is, above all, a form on which respondents can say what they believe they should say, not merely register formal answers. As a general rule, no name should be requested, and replies should be treated in strict professional confidence.

We can jump to the heart of Step 3 by saying that a study group should think first of the final tables which it wants. For instance, in a current survey of slum-area young people, a school faculty was concerned about vocational choices. Long before the study form was put into shape, it was agreed that data should be gathered which would permit a comparison of fathers' lifework and sons' job aspirations. This idea, sketched out in tabular form (without, of course, percent figures) is seen in the table on the opposite page.

That Table 11 is not perfect is not the point at issue. The point is that any study group should be able to see pretty well

TABLE 11. FATHERS' LIFEWORK AND SONS' WORK PREFERENCE AS REPORTED BY 336 EIGHTH-, TENTH-, AND TWELFTH-GRADE STUDENTS: PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSE

	Professional	White collar	Skilled labor	Semiskilled and unskilled
Fathers' life work	5.7	27.9	35.5	30.9
Sons' work preference	40.9	25.8	31.0	2.3

through its work from the beginning, be able to specify the basic data it desires. No table should be left without an explanation of its nature and an indication of its major findings. For example, how is the above table to be read, and what, in general, does it show? It is an instructive exercise, and one students like to do, to scan this book or any other and make a criticism of its tables and graphic illustrations.

Of the remaining steps in study making, comment will be limited to two items, each of which if better understood would improve the school's community-use program.

Just as objective studies, whatever their specific form, rest on statistics, so subjective studies depend upon handling face-to-face contacts, for example, interviews. So many mistakes are made here, so little guidance given students that one marvels at this vast educational waste. To continue with interviewing, the essential task is to hear not only what persons say but what they cannot or will not say, at least directly. Thus interviewing is much more than "asking questions." It is a complex social process, a subtle interplay of words and gestures, and one's success depends quite often on the management of his own impulsive actions. He must, by one means or another, induce and maintain the "voluntary cooperation" of informants.

Why does any person talk freely, fully, frankly? In fact, why does he talk to an interviewer at all? People, to be sure, are different; their motivations vary. One reason for talking is that life itself, like any good story, is a series of ups and down. People get in trouble, get out, get in again, and so on. They want to talk to rid themselves of tensions, to push up their egos, to save others—especially younger persons—from their own sorry fate.

Such motives start talk, but they do not keep it going, as an incident will disclose.

THE WRONG WAY TO INTERVIEW ⁵

At this school, the faculty wanted to know what the community felt about aspects of school work and I joined the study committee in field interviewing. My third interviewee was a factory worker, a horny-handed son of toil, reminding me of my own sheltered academic life. In response to the first question, the man exploded, saying with profane trimmings that the school was "a helluva place to send a kid." My exact reply escapes me, for it was years ago, but it must have been about like this: "Now, now, my good fellow, is that the proper spirit!"

Of course, my good fellow stopped talking, set his jaw and edged toward me. In a flash of inspiration, it seemed best to hurry along to the next case. I thanked him and shoved off, marveling at his stupidity. There was no move on my part to understand this man as a person, to find the referents of his words. I had gone defensive, making the interview a conflict situation in which, presumably, I was set to argue the point and defend the school. It would be impossible to say now how long this type of attitude persisted in my field work, or when and how I got wise. Learning, at least for me, has seldom been easy and almost never quick.

Few teachers, in truth few persons, are good all-round interviewers. Some get along well with children, some with adults; some with men, some with women; some with bright people, some with dull. Mostly, the best interviewers are self-taught, as it were, for they learned nothing much in college bearing on this skill. In general, one should not give advice in fact-finding interviews. He should not try to dominate a situation, or be too clever, or display authority, or ask too direct questions. He should be a skillful listener, a *provocateur* of relevant talk. He should talk only to help an informant talk, saying much with gestures rather than words to relieve suspicions, praise efforts, keep discussion on the track, clear up implicit assumptions. He should, in sum, be able to take the role of the interviewee, think as he thinks, whatever his mental quirks. Always, however, a

⁵ From Lloyd Allen Cook, "Methods of Community Study," in W. C. Reavis (Ed.), *The School and the Urban Community*, pp. 201-214, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1942.

part of the mind should be on the task at hand, the collection of valid, reliable, and complete data on the nature of things as informants see them.

Item two involves writing a final report, a task well done by few school study groups. In case after case, no final over-all report is ever written, for no one wants to undertake the work. Plainly, few writers like to write, for writing is onerous labor and one can understand why so many persons shirk it. It would be presumptuous to try to define the qualities of good writing, for preferences vary; yet one can speak with some certainty on the mechanics of the job.

For what some writers are wont to call a "high-brow" audience, a study report should contain six parts: introduction, including study purposes, the study plan, the data and their interpretations, recommended changes, an appendix for longer tables and study forms, and possibly a bibliography. Content in each part will vary in terms of circumstances so that we shall not attempt to be specific. The entire pattern must be changed for audiences other than the one indicated, and here "feature-story" news writing should be studied. In every case, the first function of writing is to get itself read, the next is to merit critical thought, and, finally, to further action. Good writing will strive to achieve all three of these objectives.

A NOTE ON READING MATERIALS

In this chapter, our concern has been with life-resources, their nature and use in school programs. We would not in any way depreciate the worth of books and pamphlet materials or the ever-growing dependence of schools on audio-visual aids. All of these ways of learning go hand in hand in good educational programs, each supplementing and reinforcing the other.

Of the several recent studies of reading materials, we are impressed with the reports issued by the University of Kentucky in its long-term Sloan Foundation studies in rural and small-town areas. In what may prove to be an influential guide to teachers in the selection of print materials for young children, Ruth Hillis believes that experimental data support eight basic points.

GOOD READING MATERIALS FOR CHILDREN⁶

1. Informational content is related to the life-experiences of the readers.
2. In this content, various interest factors are present—people, action, story form, humor, and lifelike situations.
3. Readers are conscious of a need for the information which the book, pamphlet, or study unit offers.
4. The information is such that readers can use it, that is, it effects changes in their day-by-day behavior.
5. The material is well organized, clearly written, and comprehensible.
6. The vocabulary is suitable, by actual test, to the grade level and backgrounds of the reader.
7. Each technical term or unfamiliar word is explained and illustrated as it is introduced.
8. Useful study helps, learning aids, etc., accompany the text.

One interesting thing about this list is that it would seem to define good reading material at any grade level, including college. Another even more impressive fact is that, with slight adaptive changes, the list suggests the kinds of community experiences into which learners should be guided, depending on their state of readiness to profit from the flow of life outside and beyond the schoolroom. We would fully endorse it as a practical guide to resource uses.

Problems and Projects

1. What do you understand by "community resources"? What is meant by saying that resources depend upon the philosophy of the school?
2. Can small children learn the rudiments of science? Write a paper descriptive of your own contacts with social science from the grade school into college. Stress the use experiences and the use values of science, whatever they may have been.
3. Tell what you think of the use of an adult committee in developing schoolwork on controversial social issues such as in the family-life

⁶ Condensed from Ruth Hillis, *Preparation and Evaluation of Instructional Material on Community Agencies*, Department of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, 1949.

course. Should a teacher always secure the approval of the school head in such work and keep this person informed of results?

4. In the Kellogg "old-book" project, there was one book which could not be turned in, that is, was unacceptable. Can you guess what it was?

5. Could either summer or year-round camps be associated with schools for the improvement of life-centered education? Explain your answer.

6. What ways of "taking the school into the community" and of "bringing the community into the school" are not listed? Illustrate your answer.

7. Make an informal survey of class members to determine the values they see in field experience. Request negative views if any as well as the positive reactions. Summarize your findings for the class.

8. For the systematic use of resources throughout a region, read and report on John Ivey and Harry Williams, *Education Helps Build a Region*, Chap. I, "Framework of Resource Use," Chap. II, "Taking Facts to the People," Chap. III, "Teachers in Action." Would this general plan be applicable to your own region?

9. Does your college have a community resources inventory? Would it be worth while for your class to start one?

10. What to you are the qualities of good writing? Work out a rating scheme for the study of any writing, and apply it to this volume.

11. What wrong ways of interviewing can you name? Set up a sociodrama to show better ways of conducting field interviews on some problem in which the class is interested. Shift over, after a few scenes, from a study problem to a group-action problem.

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CHAPTER 17

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY COORDINATION

No matter how much a school improves itself, how hard it works to develop a functional need-meeting kind of education, the mills of the community keep grinding out unhappy, ineffective, and maladjusted young people. Here every teacher faces a dilemma, a decision that will affect all one's years in teaching. There are, to be explicit, two great ways of reaching children. One is via the school, so that a teacher may work harder at the things he is doing. The other is via the community, the stimulation and coordination of all the educative forces in the area that influence the attitudes and behaviors of young people.

We would not have it thought that every teacher should drop everything and rush forth into community work. On the contrary, many are already rendering indispensable school services. Others are unfitted by temperament or training for the teacher-leader role about which we shall write. What we do mean to say is that every schoolteacher, every school staff, should look again at the problem of area-wide school and community cooperation. Somewhere, in every staff, there should be socially minded persons who, in addition to the school head, could play a decisive part in, say, the work of a coordinating council. This is the line of inquiry followed in the present chapter.

AN EXAMPLE OF AREA-WIDE COOPERATION

What is meant by school and community coordination? While no case can be fully illustrative, the Greeley example will serve as a starter. The story is incomplete, mostly because it is still in process.

A COLLEGE-SCHOOL-COMMUNITY PROJECT

At Greeley, Colorado, in the spring of 1947, a meeting of over four hundred persons was held at the State College campus. It was spon-

sored jointly by the college, the public schools, and community agencies. Participants included college students, faculty members, school teachers, city and county officials, civic leaders, social-agency heads, and directors of intercultural programs from as far away as southern Texas and California. The meeting culminated a year of fact finding, and, to understand it, one needs a picture of Spanish-Anglo relations in and about the city.

Mexicans have lived in Greeley and in the county for many years, working chiefly in the sugar-beet industry. Some are migrants in process, moving on to seasonal jobs; others form a resident population concentrated in a "colony," a short distance outside the city. In the colony, there are no hard-surface roads, no running water, no electricity, no modern conveniences. An overcrowded grade school serves the settlement, inadequate in every sense except for its two hard-working teachers. At the time of a visit, pupils were being asked to bring individual milk bottles from which to drink water out of a school bucket, thus to stop the use of a common dipper.

For years, it has been thought that Mexican young people got into more than their share of trouble. It was suspected that their health was bad, their petty crimes high, their school attendance spotty, their social adjustments far short of ideal. It was thought also that so-called Anglo children did not accept these youngsters as their equal, that prejudice and discrimination existed here as elsewhere in the Southwest where Mexicans are the most recent migrant group.

When the college joined the national College Study in Intergroup Relations in 1946, it was to work on the problem of Spanish-American relations. It was decided forthwith to invite the city and county schools, the government offices and departments, as well as all voluntary civic-social agencies including the churches to enter the project, to develop a cooperative attack on as many fronts as possible. The meeting, as was said, marked the end of a year of study making and fact finding.

At this meeting, brief reports were made by each committee chairman on the chief findings of his group. Conclusions and recommendations covered a score of areas, including health, delinquency, school progress, job opportunities, public attitudes, and overt discriminatory practices. The *Greeley Tribune* carried a detailed summary of these reports; in fact from the beginning of the project the paper gave full news and editorial support.

Once committee findings were in, the chairman raised the question which was central, no doubt, in everyone's mind. What was the meet-

ing all about; what did the general committee propose to do? One use for the factual data presented was in teacher education. At the college and throughout the Southwest, thousands of college students in training to be teachers would have to deal with Spanish-Anglo relations. The work of Greeley students in gathering facts, as well as the detailed report of each committee, were valuable curricular experiences, as the Greeley audience readily could see.

The second use to be made of the data was to try to get changes made, to improve the conditions of life for Mexican young people, and to develop more friendly relations with Anglo children and adults. Could this change be made, that action taken? What did school officials, agency heads, and others really think? With time growing short, a committee was appointed to draft a report of this first of several conferences and a date for the next meeting was arranged.

In an editorial the next day, the *Tribune* editor first praised the action of local veterans in creating a \$2,000 scholarship for a youth of Spanish descent in honor of Joe Martinez, a Greeley boy who lost his life at Attu and was awarded posthumously the Congressional Medal of Honor. After referring to impressive public ceremonies, the editorial continued:

At the time we said, and wish now to repeat, that the enduring monument to Joe Martinez, and to other Spanish-Americans with fine war records, would be the equality of treatment of their people in everyday life in this community. All could assist in maintaining such a memorial without a penny's expense. . . .

A solid foundation for improving intergroup relations is now being laid. The local college, the schools, and the community will slowly but surely get results. . . . The intergroup study here, in the years that it is to continue, might well be dedicated to Joe Martinez.

Enough has been said to show the general course of thought and action at Greeley, a program that continues along lines of improving and coordinating institutional services for Mexican youth and adults.¹ Facts have a way of calling for more facts, so that more fact-finding teams are at work, including numbers of preservice and inservice teachers. The police department, the public-health people, the recreational supervisor, churches, and the like have accepted new responsibilities. Units

¹ For details, address Dr. Earle W. Rugg, chairman of the local study-action program, Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colo.

on "prejudice," for example, have been taught in the schools. Gradually, sentiment is coming to favor a coordinated program, managed by a council, a development that will take time. Sooner or later, a social movement of this kind should expect to encounter set opposition, making it necessary to calculate the risks involved in each new sociocivic action.

ORIGINS OF COOPERATIVE ACTION

Students ask how school-community cooperation gets started. What does a school head or classroom teacher do? There are, in general, two quite opposite sources or conditions of origin. In some places, the move toward closer community relations begins as an informal process, perhaps a meeting of friends around a luncheon table.

A SCHOOL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

You ask how this group got started? Well, when I came here as principal, I began to make friends. A bunch of us fell together at noontime for a quick lunch. We began to get acquainted and to talk—the editor of the county paper, our only banker, old Judge H——, the county agent and a few others. We talked about everything, including school business. When this new building program came up, I asked for advice. . . . I have continued to do so, phoning a group member if the need arises. The group, half in jest, calls itself the school's "advisory committee."

Usually, we believe, cooperative action is the product of a crisis situation, a condition calling for an immediate adjustment. A crisis may be a self-induced emergency, a voluntary undertaking where a community elects to raise money, to stage a big event, or to do something about some social problem as at Greeley. Mostly, crises are imposed on an area by the play of so-called external forces, for example, the closing of schools due to lack of funds. Brief cases will illustrate these two types of critical situations.

AN ALUMNI COUNCIL

At Wooster, Ohio, the head of the high school commercial department suddenly awoke to the fact that her graduates were not finding jobs for which their training prepared them. On studying the past

year's graduating seniors, only 12 of the 44 had been placed in positions for which they had been fitted, the great majority being in low skilled work such as clerks and filling station attendants.

Armed with an array of facts, this teacher talked over the problem with the presidents of the three local civic luncheon clubs. At their invitation, she addressed a combined meeting of these clubs, thus contacting all important business heads in the community. Deeply concerned, they requested more, and more specific, information. For example, what were the replacement and expansion needs of local business and industrial establishments? Were trained workers being brought in from the outside? Was the high school training adequate?

The final upshot was the formation of an Alumni Council, a working group of business leaders who took complete charge of placing high school commercial majors. First, they collected areawide reports on actual and potential personnel needs, asking the teacher to make recommendations for filling these positions. More lately, they have sponsored a program of on-the-job training and "refresher courses" as supplementary to basic high school education. They have also assisted the commercial department in revising its work and have opened plants, stores and shops more widely to student visits and apprentice employment.

DAYTON REOPENS ITS SCHOOLS ²

Some years ago, the city of Dayton, Ohio, found that it had been given widespread publicity due to the closing of schools. Schools, enrolling over 34,000 pupils and valued at \$15 million, could not be financed, hence were shut down by board order. Local papers ran scare heads, press wires and newsreels spread the picture over the nation. In Russia, this was viewed as just another breakdown in democracy, the inability of a free enterprise system to control itself.

In Dayton itself, there was great excitement. Why should an expanding industrial center find it necessary to close its schools? Reasons were detailed in every imaginable way—newspapers, bulletins, public meetings and conferences. They ran along familiar lines in public school financing, for example decreasing tax valuations and unforeseen drains on public revenue. They dated back for many years, with new school levies defeated each year at the polls. Each year, too, the board effected new economies, lopping off kindergartens, visit-

² From Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Action and the School*, pp. 4-5, The Ohio State University Press, Columbus, Ohio, 1941.

ing teachers, summer school, adult use of school buildings and so on. With the situation hopeless, the board gave up the struggle and closed the schools.

Within an unbelievably short time, an aroused citizenry went into action. An areawide committee was formed to determine minimum school needs and to outline strategy. Funds were raised for a fact-finding survey the findings of which were thoroughly publicized. Speakers addressed all kinds of meetings on the need for an emergency two mill tax levy, a proposal that, on coming to a vote, was passed by a narrow margin. Publicity was continued, new studies were made, and within a year or two many school services were being restored. The story, in short, is that of a crisis in community life and the decisive way, after action finally started, people came to know the schools and to support them as they merited.

In Dayton, closing the schools broke the routine of life for a great many persons, upsetting the normal expectations to which they had become accustomed. Some persons seemed unable to believe that it had happened, others charged graft and corruption, and still others—the solid backbone of the community—felt the need for organized action. Out of all this random milling, impulses began to gather a following. As leaders emerged, the decision to reopen the schools took definite form and gathered momentum. This is, in sociological theory, the frame of mass action in most social movements, the way a disturbed people in a democratic society try to solve their common problems.

NATURE OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Implicit in any case of cooperative action is a theory of the nature of social problems, a point on which social scientists are not in full accord.³ To our way of thinking, any social problem is a social problem because *people say it is one*. Running noses in a classroom would not be a problem, one on which collective action should be taken, unless school teachers so defined the situation. Or better still, the closing of schools, wherever that might happen, would be a problem only if a number of

³ For discussion and bibliography, see Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers, "The Natural History of a Social Problem," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941), 320-339.

people felt that schools should keep open. Others may feel that they should stay closed, a saving to taxpayers, thus representing a clash in values. So with crime in a given area, racial discrimination, high or low birth rates and so on. Each situation has an external aspect, often a measurable departure from an accepted social norm. But what makes it problematic, in last analysis, is its subjective meaning, the pro and con welfare thinking that ensues.

One implication of this view is that most community problems have no final solution, as that term is often used. If a man is sick, a doctor can perhaps make him well, that is, find a cure that is wholly satisfactory to him and to others concerned about him. The same reasoning does not hold for persistent value clashes in community living. Solutions usually are tentative, a balancing of gains and losses between or among contending parties, with no party fully satisfied. Thus negotiation and compromise would seem to be implicit in democratic problem solving, although no compromiser sets out to compromise. He sets out, as it were, to drive the best bargain he can possibly drive.

Another implication of this value thinking bears directly on the work of study-action groups. Whether one considers this matter within a classroom or community situation—if the aim is to guide a group in problem solving—the procedure will differ a great deal from the usual academic teaching about social problems. A systematic study-action outline might look about as follows:

A FRAME FOR COOPERATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING

1. Nature of the Problem

- a. How does the problem appear to average citizens? To special-interest groups?
- b. Why is the problem significant? Number of persons affected? Intensity of attitudes? Are conditions growing better or worse? Do other problems depend on this one for solution?
- c. How does a person interested in democratic values formulate this problem for solution? On what overt and covert issues, assumptions, etc., does a solution depend?

2. History of the Problem

- a. How has the problem arisen locally? When did it first appear, and what changes have occurred over time?
- b. What are its connections with broader city-wide, state, or national issues? Is the same problem under a different guise known to exist elsewhere?
- c. What solutions, if any, have been found for the problem wherever efforts have been made to solve it?

3. Goals to Be Sought in a Solution

- a. What desirable condition should replace the old state of affairs? Desirable to whom? For what reasons?
- b. Does the above condition best serve the public good, the greatest good for the greatest number? Is this always a conclusive test of democratic ends? What rights and expectations must be reserved to the minority group?
- c. Are there alternative solutions? Could fuller agreement be achieved among all parties by modifying the ideal solution?

4. Means for Bringing about a Solution

- a. By what specific means is the problem to be attacked? What blocs and barriers are anticipated? What risk calculations have been made, *i.e.*, estimates of success and failure?
- b. What indirect, perhaps unwanted, concomitant effects of group action are expected? Is the action group prepared to pay these costs, these "price marks of progress"?
- c. In the opinion of the most competent judges available, is the plan of action well conceived? Does it have "soft spots" due to someone's particular prejudice?

5. Revising Ends and Means in Process

- a. Where will action begin, and who will start it? What time schedule has been agreed upon?
- b. Has a continuous "feedback" of results been arranged? Is the group prepared to change its ends and means in light of unpredictable developments?
- c. How will these changes be made, that is, where will authority center throughout the total action process?

6. Problems of Morale

- a. Does the action group anticipate loss of morale in case its tactics are not immediately successful? Has it considered, too, the elation following a sudden victory, although the job is only half-done? How will morale be maintained?

From this outline, cooperative problem solving may look like a formidable business, as indeed it can become. For practical use in school and community work, we have employed a simple version of the outline: What is the problem? Who has a stake in it? What will solve the problem? How shall action be started? What arrangements shall be made for the feedback of results and the replanning of tactics?

STRUCTURE OF COMMUNITY ACTION

Cooperative action, as was said, has its origins in the many kinds of problem situations inherent in everyday life, the value clashes which seem inevitable in our culture. There is, on the part of some persons, a felt concern, a sense of need, an impending crisis. From random milling, an action group is formed and struggles to win a following. If group goals are long range, if opposition toughens, the will to do must have a structure, a network of interrelations binding persons together into a working unit. Consider, for example, the structure of a civil-liberties league in a city of about three hundred thousand, now having about five hundred members.

A CIVIL-LIBERTIES LEAGUE

The league started as most civic-action groups begin, with an invitational clustering about a local leader who felt that racial and creedal minorities in the city were entitled to the full exercise of their civil rights. At this stage, there was no formal organization, no program except talk, and so it went until the league decided to add members and expand. Each member brought a friend, who in turn brought a friend, until the roster numbered over one hundred persons. It was then that formal structure was needed, for structure is primarily a function of size.

As the league further increased its members, it moved into the nation's most familiar organizational pattern, a line-and-staff pyramid with four interlocking levels. At the top was the president, the executive committee, and two executive secretaries, with only one of all these individuals (an executive secretary) on the job full time and with pay. I do not count here the "sponsors," a changing list of prominent local civic leaders whose function it was to give the league respectability, to protect it from the charge of radicalism and the like. The

one paid secretary is our principal "idea man," a motivator of thought and action and a coordinator of the several divisions appearing in league work.

Below the top brass comes an advisory committee, some of whose names also appear on league letterheads as sponsors of the movement. Committee functions are advisory only, with policy making left to the executive group and its officers. At the third level of organization, one will find a number of divisional or departmental heads, for example, in fund raising, publicity, membership, economic discrimination, educational discrimination, and so on. These persons volunteer their services, some even defraying their operational costs.

At the pyramid's broad base are the mine-run members, their functions being to make suggestions for policy, pay dues, absorb propaganda releases, sign petitions, attend general meetings, and so on. From the league, they draw support for their convictions; they see that something can be done to change the sorry state of human relations in this democratic community.

To review briefly, the first stage in league history was an informal, unstructured meeting of like-minded persons, the next stage being the organization we have described. The third cycle of growth was reached when we allied ourselves with other good-will and anti-discrimination groups in the city. Over time, a loose federation has come into being, a council of ten local organizations of which four are branches of national bodies interested in one or more of our common basic freedoms.

The operations of this coordinating council illustrate what can be called a fourth and final stage in the development of voluntary sociocivic organizations throughout the nation. Grouping is no longer vertical and more or less authoritarian, depending on numbers. It is horizontal and democratic, with each member agency in the council keeping its own basic integrity but cooperating at times on a city-wide front, a united front to achieve objectives which all member organizations hold in common.

The Civil Liberties League calls attention to the vast number of voluntary sociocivic organizations to be found in every sizable community. *In toto*, this complex of good-will agencies is as American as hot dogs or apple pie. Each unit, whatever its special concern, is a promotional effort by a handful of people who are devoted to the public weal. It speaks for members to their government, to the community, the nation and the world,

a voice muted on occasion by exigencies of fund raising but, none the less, too valuable to be lost in our way of life.

In general, such groupings show two organizational patterns. One, the authoritarian, is a line-and-staff structure, with power centered at the top. The other, the democratic, distributes power throughout the ranks compatible with the functions people are expected to perform. Thus, the essential difference does not lie in "efficiency," for either type of agency may be well run. It may show open channels of communication, effective strategy and tactics, good technical devices, just rewards for services, and so on. The real difference lies, as just stated, in the holding of power and in decision making. Another differential is more difficult to express, the emotional satisfaction that comes only in democratic human relations, the simple feeling of worth and dignity, of being fully accepted among like-minded persons as a worker and a man.

PROCESSES OF SOCIAL ACTION

From a formal standpoint, the processes of cooperative group action are eight in number, and it would help greatly if those who lead action programs or participate in them could come closer to an agreement on these processes than is now the case.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROCESSES

To *plan* a movement is to look ahead, to devise a loosely set up blueprint in the mind in answer to five imperative questions: what, why, how, who, and when. To *organize* is to bring a plan to life, to give strength and permanency to ideas and impulses, just as to *manage* is to take care of problems before and as they arise. To *study* is to know reality before one attempts to control it, to bring science to bear on matters where facts, and only facts, can count.

If facts carried their own meanings, if they brought conviction by merely being released like a bird in flight, there would be no need to *interpret* them, to publicize any cause. If people willingly joined up, if opposition gave way or did not develop, to teach the art of *cooperation* would be easy; to *negotiate* and perhaps to use *pressure*, would be absurd. But alas, the world is not like this, and to act as if it were is to miss the methodological skill and mature judgment characterizing successful community movements.

Once upon a time we thought a few paragraphs of this sort pretty well took care of group action in terms of processes. We made the same mistake then that students make in memorizing John Dewey's famous problem-solving formula. There is, of course, nothing wrong with knowing Dewey's sequential steps in logical thinking, except that social problems are not solved within a logical universe by logicians. They are solved in the heat and chill of human relations, in situations where nobody dare speak to anybody, where pygmies blow themselves up like giants, where stubborn emotional differences jump out like characters in a Disney film, daring one to lift a finger toward their resolution, where the group itself produces leaders who can do jobs that cannot be done. They are solved by experts, with or without portfolio, experts in human relations, and in these times, in the very state of things, it would be unwise ever to forget that *expertness is where one finds it*.

Most of all, we want to call attention to the spiral tendency in human relations, the observable way in which an action process tends to tighten up on itself, to get as indrawn and brittle as a coiled-up spring. Time and again, we have noticed these tell-tale phenomena—the heightening of emotions, the increasing firmness of a no-compromise stand, the growing disregard for good manners in dealing with an opposition, the extreme positions into which sane persons let themselves be jockeyed, the wavering vacillation of inattentive followers; and the fatigue that comes from sustained and frustrating effort. Human problems can be, of course, too critical to work upon, too tense to do anything more than to keep people in communication, hoping for a break to come.

THE COORDINATING COUNCIL

Before resuming the above thought, something should be said about the coordinating council. The history of cooperative action on community problems in this country is in part the story of the coordinating council. Prior to the First World War, some seven hundred of these bodies were known to be in existence, working along at community problems. With the war, there came a great splurge of community coordination, resulting

in some four thousand local councils under a National Council of Defense. In the Second World War, we witnessed a second round of council organization on a local, state, and regional basis, setups being hastily pulled together and meant for emergency services. After both wars, councils died almost as fast as they were born, never having been structured into the fabric of daily living.

Today, in 1950, details in the picture are not known. There must be, in round figures, a thousand or more local community councils in operation. They are found in open-country areas, for instance, a three-county coordination. They are found in villages and in large cities, but they are primarily a small-city phenomenon, flourishing best in places of 10,000 to 50,000. Here urbanism, with its impersonality, its unconcern for people, its high-speed competitive struggle, is being increasingly felt, and the council would seem to be a device for meeting a number of transitional strains.

Council functions are well described in a plan for area-wide family-life education, a long-term experimental project in four widely varied kinds of communities.

COUNCIL FUNCTIONS AND PROCEDURES ⁴

The general plan is to bring into existence, under leadership of the school, community councils representing a cross section of community interests relating to family life. It is the business of these councils to study local conditions affecting family life, to discover the common problems and needs of local families, to work through existing organizations to interpret these needs and to find ways of meeting them.

Such a council is not "just another organization." It is a clearing house of ideas. It can analyze, investigate, and recommend, but it does not, in and of itself, initiate new undertakings or employ personnel. The schoolboard usually provides it with a person to serve as coordinator, or executive secretary, but each program that is developed grows out of each council's around-the-table thinking.

It can be seen from this account that councils, in themselves, are not a solvent for any problem. They are at best a means,

⁴Edna P. Amidon, "Community Organization for Family Life Education," *School Life*, 26 (1940), 38-40.

an instrument, an agency, for cooperative problem solving, as weak or strong as their member units. Their obvious purpose is to organize the resources of an area, to reduce inefficient overlaps and duplications, to spot unmet needs, to prevent inter-agency squabbles, to improve and expand services, to speak for the whole community in appeals to outside sources. Councils have learned through bitter experience not to initiate new projects, for that brings them into conflict with member agencies, as well as demanding funds and personnel. They are a clearing-house for community action, a stimulator and a guide so far as member agencies want to make and to take suggestions.

STATUS RESEARCH VS. ACTION RESEARCH

Time was when there was one approved way to organize community action, at least so far as the role of the scientist goes. Now two contrasting plans are much in evidence, with the more recent one growing at an amazing rate of speed.

Status research, the traditional plan, starts with fact-finding, preferably by a staff of outside experts. Since facts do not carry their own meaning, their significance and value, stage two consists of publicity, a program of interpretation. A high arrest rate is "bad"; sexy movies are "harmful"; race discrimination is a "blight." Publicity is followed, as a rule, by pressure, a squeeze of some kind on power holders to force cooperation and assent. Finally, there is a moment of decision by vote or administrative order, a victory or defeat. This is the age-old way that science has sought to aid man in his practical efforts, the major assumption being that people who knew the facts or could be brought to face them would take action to even things up, to set the score right.

A decade or more ago, "action research" had its origin in the work of Kurt Lewin and his associates. If a case to be given shortly is analyzed, it will be seen that this scheme of cooperative study differs from status research. For example, the study makers are the people involved in a problem situation, and they hold the power to make a change. In their quest for facts, they learn much that cannot be put into any report, the human equations in a given situation. *They learn people*—if the phrase

has meaning—who they are, what they are like, why they behave as they do. Firsthand experience is, to be sure, no certain way of producing change, of teaching correct concepts and attitudes; yet the probability of such learning seems greater than in status research. At any rate, action programs are centered on the most resistant of all change problems, the problem of motivation.

RESOLVING SOCIAL CONFLICT

In working with school and community groups, one is bound to encounter conflicts of long and bitter standing. Some center on differences in information, others on differences in value judgments. Still others are plain, straight-out personality clashes, the most difficult kind of conflict to resolve. Any case will show these elements in some combination, as even a sketchy record of one consultant's work in an industrial setting will make clear. The scene is a small textile factory, employing about 170 sewing-machine operators, several floor girls, a mechanic, and a supervisor. The story is told by Alex Bavelas, who fell heir to a feud between the mechanic and the supervisor.

SETTLING A STATUS CLASH ⁵

As I walked past the boss's office, I saw Paulson (mechanic) and Sulinda (supervisor) standing in front of his desk. All three were ill at ease, and I surmised that something was wrong. "You're just the man we're waiting for," was the boss's greeting. He explained that Paulson and Sulinda were having some trouble because they could not agree on which machines should be repaired first and that an operator was playing them against each other by gossiping about each to the other.

I remarked that it was not uncommon for operators to gossip, citing an experience in another factory. Since I wanted to get the supervisor and the mechanic back to their jobs, I added that I had to talk for a moment to one of the girls about some matter, after which I would like to talk to each of them. Both agreed to see me at any time and I walked upstairs with Sulinda to the shop. She confided that what made her mad was Paulson's telling lies about her and the operator's

⁵ Adapted from Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflict*, pp. 125-141, Harper, New York, 1948. Used by arrangement.

calling her a liar to her face. Without taking sides, I told of a similar instance and added that the whole thing might have grown out of some simple misunderstanding.

In the next few minutes, I interviewed the boss who said that Sulinda was ready to quit her job when I walked in and that Paulson also said he was quitting. The boss hoped I could smooth things over, saying that this kind of thing had been happening right along but that now it was worse. Both workers were very independent, lost their tempers, and shared a mutual dislike.

In the interview with Sulinda, she said that Paulson was not a good mechanic. Often he didn't know what was wrong with a machine, would tinker around for ages. He would blame the operator for mishandling the machine or say the thread was no good or make other excuses. Just that afternoon, Sulinda said, a girl had come to her and told her that Paulson refused to fix her machine. She had gone to Paulson at once and told him what the girl had said, adding that he had to fix the machine. He got very angry, denying that he had made any such statement. He went to the girl, accused her of lying, which she denied. She said that Sulinda was lying, whereupon Paulson took her to Sulinda. It was here that Sulinda picked up her coat and went down to tell the boss that she was quitting.

(Since the machine operators were dependent on both Paulson and Sulinda, it was the unclear line of authority between the two that made the lie such an important issue. If Sulinda had admitted the lie, she would have lost face and weakened her position with the girls. For Paulson, the lie had involved a threat to his honor, his prestige, and authority with the girls.)

Sensing this dilemma, I said no more about the lie. I asked Sulinda factual questions about the number of machine breakdowns, nature, etc., all of which made it clear that Paulson was kept very busy. Sulinda agreed that, if he had time, he would do better work, that a source of irritation would be removed. I asked her whether she thought it would help if I talked to the girls who were carrying tales, and she agreed. I asked if she would like to know what they said, and she replied yes.

In my interview with Paulson, he started by explaining how hard he had to work, only one pair of hands, etc. After easing the situation with a joke, I found it easy to arrive with him at the point of attributing the trouble to the impatience of the girls and the lack of mechanic time. He, too, thought it would be well to talk with the girls and that it would help to know just what they thought.

(Paulson, like Sulinda, had defined the situation in terms of right or wrong; he was right, the supervisor wrong. He was led in the interview, as was Sulinda, to perceive the problem in objective terms—the insufficiency of mechanic time, the natural irritation of the girls. While both interviews uncovered facts, their major function was to change perceptions, thus to start the problem-solving process. Neither person was asked to face all the facts, including their individual behaviors, which might have ended their further cooperation with the consultant. Being conscious of status strivings, the consultant secured their consent before he approached the girls. Sulinda gladly approved because the trouble makers have been a threat to her. By offering to report back, the consultant admits her authority and secures her active cooperation. Paulson is a little less touchy, a little more secure; yet he also wants to know what the girls think of him as a person.)

I then called each of the girls in for a short interview. They all agreed that Paulson was O.K. but that he had too much work to do, hence could not do a proper job. I asked each girl if it would be a good idea to get all the girls together who had made complaints and see if something could be worked out to reduce the time they had to lose in waiting for repairs; and they all agreed.

When the complainers (trouble makers) were assembled, I talked about the problem, stressing the shortage of mechanic time. Since it was unlikely that another mechanic could be hired, the question was how to use Paulson's time. Through group discussion, we arrived at this plan. When machines had the same importance, *i.e.*, other machines not depending on them, the first to break down should be the first repaired; otherwise the most critical machines should be fixed first. It was further agreed that this plan would be presented to Paulson and Sulinda, and I would report to the group what they said.

(To summarize briefly, two key persons who were ready to walk off the job are back at work. Conflict is viewed by the consultant as a three-way affair, with the girls themselves its most active promoters. It seems to center on unclear lines of authority, on status and prestige, due chiefly to a faulty organization of production. Machine operators themselves are made the fact-finding group, for, having the lowest position in the factory hierarchy, any "fact" presented to them by higher-ups might well be questioned. Not all the girls but only the "trouble makers"—those having greatest power to effect a change in the situation—become the basis of the study group, the ones asked to initiate a solution to the problem. If rules can be developed through group discussion, it is more than likely that they will be accepted as binding

by all parties including the gossipers. The consultant has created a hope that the problem can be solved.)

In reporting back to Paulson, I assured him that the girls had nothing against him personally, that they felt he had more work than one mechanic could do. Feeling good about this, he looked over the girls' plan, commenting that it was exactly what he wanted, if only everybody would stop bossing him around. He was, I said, a skilled mechanic, and he should not be bothered about deciding which machine should be repaired. Sulinda could cope with this, a matter in which he strongly agreed. He doubted, however, if Sulinda would like the plan.

On talking with Sulinda, she thought that the plan was exactly right; in fact it was what she had proposed long ago, but no one could tell Paulson anything. I said that Paulson was ready to accept her decision as to the order of repair and that the girls thought the whole matter was very clear and would cooperate in every way. She agreed to try the plan but was skeptical.

After telling Paulson that Sulinda would go along on the new scheme, I called in the girls for a short meeting where we went over the plan and the procedure involved. I said we would give it a test run, that it could work only if the girls made it work and that all of us would welcome further ideas.

A few weeks later, the boss and I were talking about another problem when he asked me if I had noticed a change in Paulson. He said that Paulson seemed to have much less work to do than formerly, that his report showed about a third less repairs. The boss was certain that he got along better with Sulinda, that the girls were less restless than before. On speaking to Paulson about these matters, he felt that work output was higher than it had been. In his opinion, "the music had a lot to do with it," referring to a loud-speaker system he had just installed. As for Sulinda, he felt that girls had gotten the impression that "we hate each other," when "no enmity had ever existed." Of course, the two had "bickered back and forth," but they had always been the best of friends. Feeling secure in his job, he could afford to be charitable toward the supervisor. She could, in turn, laugh and joke with him.

In this case, several things seem suggestive. The problem was a problem in human relations, a field where action research is most effective. Its solution depended on perceptions, the ways people saw things. The dispute was settled in line with reality,

the demand to keep production up. Those who drew up the plan for unkinking the overlap in authority had the power to make or break anything that was agreed upon by disputants. If one, in industry or outside, elects to create an atmosphere of cooperation, instead of authority, the least advantaged persons should take the first steps in planning. The past being what it is, these individuals would regard any other action as an imposition on them. On the other hand, advantaged persons, persons in authority, knowing that they can reject any and all plans, seem to be more tolerant, more ready to accept ideas from below.

We believe that this method of resolving conflict has great potential use in school and community life. Expert fact-finding plays a part, but, for behavioral change, facts are not facts until they are so accepted. Here, as Kurt Lewin so repeatedly points out, lies the advantage of making study a group endeavor. When people come together to share their facts, to exchange their views, they have already started cooperative action. Such meetings do not just happen, nor do they run themselves in a satisfactory manner. Leadership is required, a leader in whom all sides have confidence. Tension is reduced and bitter denunciations avoided by centering on objective conditions, the number of machine breakdowns for example. Praise is used to lessen inferiority feelings; in fact everything is done short of becoming unrealistic to have persons appear in a good light to one another. Issues, for instance, the "lie," which seemed important in the beginning are pushed aside in favor of some road toward constructive action.

THE LEADER ROLE

The task of keeping community gears well meshed and the wheels rolling is the prime function of leadership. Whatever else a leader is, he must express in action what a group feels and thinks, and he will lead just as long as he can do more for each follower than that person can do for himself. Thus leadership is not a psychological abstraction—size, height, weight, intelligence, extroversion, and the rest. In sociological thinking, it is a situational product, arising in and from a group process and, in turn, reshaping it. Leadership is the direction given ac-

tivity, its productive organization to achieve immediate and long-range goals.

The discovery of leaders, as well as their training, is indeed an imperative need if cooperative action is to be maintained. On many occasions in field work, we have asked the question: Who is the leader here, or better the key person, the person who gets things done? Why is he (or she) the leader, and how does he lead? More often than not, we are given the names of headmen, chiefly officeholders, who may or may not be the seat and center of local power. Curiously, school people are seldom named to leader positions in anything not directly involving the school, with some exceptions being evident in smaller communities.

As an aid to what can be seen and heard in community contacts, one can quickly establish *positional order* in any informal gathering by charting the seats selected by participants. Human nature being what it is, some persons in every community are almost always on opposite sides of any issue and they will tend to sit facing one another. A similar "seeing eye" is the *conversational flow chart* on which, by use of symbols such as initials or surnames, one can follow the course of group discussion, noting the origin of ideas, their acceptance, rejection, modification, and so on. Another device is the *sociogram*, made by asking persons to name in confidence their best friends and, perhaps, persons whom they do not like. By plotting these names, leaders will emerge, along with other group data as noted in a previous chapter.

THE PROBLEM OF RISK CALCULATION

Simple leader techniques or any kind of simple thinking, would be harmful if they were to obscure the real problems an action group faces in its leadership undertakings. Let us speculate briefly on this problem at a somewhat abstract level.

On reflection, it will be seen that the central issue in any organized movement, say, in starting a coordination council at Greeley, is a matter of risk calculation. What risks must be taken, what pounds of flesh will failure exact, and who will be responsible? We do not mean now to go into specifics, for space

will not permit. On the contrary, the intention is to make a first statement of some basic elements in risk calculation. It should be stated frankly that not enough is known about these elements to solve the problem as one would a true algebraic equation.

$$\left(\frac{DS}{PC + V + F} \right)_{AG} = \frac{PE_1}{(A, DG)_{GP}},$$

where the $_{AG}$ elements indicate the action group and the $_{GP}$ elements the general public, in relation to

$$\left(\frac{DS}{PC + V + F} \right)_{OP} = \frac{PE_2}{(A, DG)_{GP}}$$

with the $_{OP}$ elements representing the opposition group at work on the same public.⁶

To solve the equation for PE_1 , the productive effect of the action group, one would have to appraise at a given time the group's DS , developmental strength, which in itself is a composite of factors—unity of aims, resources, leadership, etc. Whatever this strength is calculated to be, in any ongoing action program it will be diminished over time by three types of internal variables. PC , probability of choice of goals, sides on issues, so on, is always a risk element in democratic group action. To this we have added a V factor, member vacillation and deflection, and F , the normal drain of fatigue.

In the $_{GP}$, general public, part of the equation, the public is by assumption the target of the action group. If its support can be won, the movement will succeed; if not, group action will end in failure. By definition, the public is interested in the cause at issue but is uninformed, uncommitted. In minimal calculation, the public must be assessed for A , apathy, and DG , divergent goals, ideas, and values. To an extent, it will also contain an opposition element which has not been listed in the equation, for it is always the purpose of action group strategy to keep this opposition from crystallizing.

⁶ For assistance on this equation, we want to acknowledge the help of Dr. Paul K. Hatt, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, and formerly associate director of the College Study in Intergroup Relations.

Whatever results are obtained thus far, assuming that quantification is possible, must be related to the appraised value of PE_2 , the productive effect of opposition group action. Since this equation is similar in all its elements to the one just explained, it can be passed over without comment.

Group productive effect is, we believe, a very difficult concept to handle. Some civic-action groups count their efforts a success if immediate aims are realized, for example, at Greeley the reduction of gross discrimination against Mexicans. Again, in reference to this case, a long-term kind of goal can be seen, the gradual growth of concern about the Anglo-Mexican problem, the better understanding of Spanish people, the area-wide support of a movement to improve human relations wherever they depart from democratic norms.

IN SUMMARY

To end the chapter with risk calculation is not desirable, for this is where specialists might well pick up the group-action problem. Of all that has been covered in this part of the volume, college students react most strongly to the teacher-leader role in school and community affairs. They aspire to play this role, to be of service to people in their everyday living. Where the reverse is true, and exceptions are few, blocks to thinking come mainly from too much democratic theory. For example, when a class talks home-town cases, members will describe specific individuals, stubborn as can be, dead set against any new idea. Is it likely, students will ask, that such characters will change themselves? Should change be forced upon them? If so, what happens to a democratic theory of working with people?

The real issue seems to involve acceptance of new values, new ways of looking at things long familiar. To us, at least, such values must be experienced by every person as freely chosen, for *no person can learn who feels himself under attack*. The most, therefore, that any democratic leader can do, to repeat a point, is to create and maintain conditions provocative of new perceptions. Of course, no path of action is "freely chosen" in any literal, scientific sense. Cause-effect-cause operates here as else-

where in nature, so that a leader's task is to try to cause an effect to happen. There is nothing in democratic theory that says the nation should do without leaders, that college students ought not aspire to leader roles. Only an advocate of *laissez faire* could take a counter view, so that the significant question is what kind of leader a teacher wants to be.

Problems and Projects

1. Assess the Greeley case, its strong and weak points. Should the college have pressed more vigorously to end discrimination, even to the extent of alienating business and sugar-beet interests? Is it likely that, through community coordination, the big job will get done?

2. For a five-year program in community organization, read and report on Edmund deS. Brunner, *Community Organization and Adult Education*, a somewhat inconclusive experiment in Greenville County, South Carolina.

3. Most school and community movements proceed on the philosophy of cooperation. For a conflict theory, summarize the views of Saul Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals* (1945). Stress in your report the pressure tactics developed by the "back-of-the-yards" council in Chicago.

4. It is probable that most community movements suffer from the kind of thinking of use in the now disappearing primary community whereas the need is for mass-action tactics. Analyze the techniques used by Kate Smith when, in a continuous day of broadcasting, she sold two million dollars' worth of war bonds. See Robert K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion* (Harper, New York, 1946).

5. Suppose your task was to take the initiative in setting up a school and community coordinating council in a small city. How would you proceed? For council structure and operations, write Community Councils, Inc., Los Angeles, California, for their booklet covering these points.

6. Do you believe a social problem is, essentially, "a clash in values"? Illustrate this in terms of your college community. On any one area-wide issue, what are the opposing values involved? Which values are advanced by organized groups?

7. Make a 20-minute report to class on Lowell J. Carr, *Delinquency Control*, Chap. XIV, "The Structure of Community Action" (Harper, New York, 1940).

8. Study with care the work of the consultant in the industrial conflict case. Write a short paper detailing your reactions to this type of work.

9. Take some specific community study problem and contrast the two ways of studying it: the "social-action" approach and the traditional social-science approach. On the problem you have selected, which way is most likely to succeed in getting the issue solved? Why?

10. Set up a panel to read and discuss Wayland J. Hayes, *The Small Community Looks Ahead*, Chap. V, "Technics and Tools of Creative Leadership," Chap. VI, "The Planning Process in Tennessee Valley Communities" (Harcourt Brace, New York, 1947).

11. How would you evaluate informally a community discussion meeting? Consider such factors as attendance, participation, issues settled, changes in attitudes, greater interest in civic affairs, and group action.

12. Suppose you were making a "social-action" approach to the problem of fraternities and sororities in the high school from which you were graduated. Prepare a paper outlining step by step your procedure.

13. Secure via your State Department of Education the Kellogg Foundation film on school consolidation, entitled *Schoolhouse in the Red*. Analyze the leadership procedures portrayed in this film.

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PART V
IMPROVING TEACHER EDUCATION

CHAPTER 18

THE TEACHER IN THE COMMUNITY

Nowhere, perhaps, is there so much talk about improving education, and so much done to get results, as in our country. Foreign educators visiting colleges comment at length on these facts. In the 21 states reporting for 1949, over 17,000 college graduates were certified for high-school teaching, a figure that fell considerably short of assessed needs.¹ If their training were compared with that given graduates a decade ago, a project which a college class might like to undertake, startling differences would be found.

We know that teaching is a way of life, as well as a profession, that teachers live in communities, that their work is influenced in countless ways by their mode of living. These are significant facts, facts which are touched too lightly in teacher education. Placement officers, more than professors, have evidence to show that teaching success depends to a marked extent on a happy and satisfying out-of-school life. Some of their reports attribute up to a fourth of all first-year failures in teaching to community maladjustment.

In selecting for study some phases of the teacher-education problem where a school sociologist should be able to further thought, we shall analyze first the broad field that teachers call their private life, their nonprofessional community relations. Teachers want freedom, freedom from fear and want and worry, and freedom for good teaching, but they are not free. Like every occupational group, they are caught in a maze of community expectations and controls, and their reactions are extremely varied. After exploring this situation, we shall look in the next chapter at the campus universe, a place quite as strange as any foreign

¹ Ray C. Maul, *Teacher Supply and Demand in the United States*, National Education Association, Washington, 1949.

land. The volume concludes with a chapter on the development of teacher-leader skills and abilities.

THE TEACHER'S COMMUNITY CONTACTS

One way to define some aspects of the teacher's community life is to consider a specific case, the rather personal history of a small-town teacher. The writer, though moderately successful in the classroom, has had a run of bad community experiences. Being the kind of person she was, it can be argued that she should not have entered teaching. At the same time, it would be hard to justify the types of intolerances which she met, viewpoints which are unfortunately all too slow in passing.

EIGHT YEARS OF TEACHING

I teach English in a high school in a small Midwestern town. This is my third school and my eighth year of teaching. I state these facts knowing that they will label me as "that kind" of person—stern and studious, dignified and a little idealistic. Maybe I am a bit school-teacherish but if so, the change in me has been so slow as to escape my own notice . . . , a change about which at times I worry.

Thinking back on student days, I do not believe I differed from other girls on the campus. I looked and acted and dressed like my sorority sisters. I dated, danced and had as much fun as any student. I studied, too, more than most, and I went in for dramatics. I fell in love a time or two but, somehow, it never took, either for the boy or for me. College men seemed then so unintellectual, so indifferent to things that were important, so lacking in ambition. All but one, a man I met in my senior year. It must have been the real thing for I spent most of my money for clothes that year, fine clothes which of course were taken with me to my first teaching job. They helped, I think, to give me an undeserved reputation in that little town, hence played some part in the loss of that first position.

My first application, first interview, first job! All bring back memories. The school was small, the salary not much and the town 150 miles away, but I went for an interview. When I entered the superintendent's office, he was dealing with a disciplinary case. The boy had played hooky from school. The superintendent, who was also the school principal, asked me to handle the case. I started to ask some questions when, without a word, he took the boy again, bawled him out, and sent him to a study hall. Then he showed me over the build-

ing and asked that I see the board members before the meeting that evening.

I found the president of the board at a feed store, another member at the bank, a third at the parsonage, a fourth—whom I couldn't reach—out on a farm, and so on. The minister's wife gave me the most critical going-over. Would I take off my hat and sit down? Well, then, did I wear short hair? Where was my home? Were we related to the Jason Browns'? Did I think that college students were going to the dogs? Was I a worshiping church member? I can think of nothing that was taught me in college to help me in that interview. I was surprised—and hurt—more than I can tell.

At the board meeting that night, four of us waited turns to be called in. The questions asked were of the same improper sort I had already answered. Did I have any relatives in the community? Was I engaged? Would I stay in the community over week ends? Could I handle discipline problems? Would I live as a guide to the children? Would I teach a Sunday-school class? Only the superintendent seemed to care about my educational qualifications—courses, methods, recommendations, etc. I must have done all right, for I got the position. I took it with many misbodings.

And then, at the end of the year, my contract was not renewed. There was no criticism of my teaching. "It was," said the superintendent, "quite satisfactory." But my personal conduct had been "bad," and he told of several "distressing incidents." One or two will illustrate, for they all involved my community relations.

Feeling the need for regular exercise, I persuaded a farmer to rent me a saddle horse once a week. It was a gentle horse and old, and couldn't do better than a slow canter. Yet the superintendent said I had gone "galloping madly" through the town, even endangering little children. Worse than that, I had ridden astride instead of "ladylike" (sidesaddle). Now Elmhurst was very broad-minded, a "most liberal town, Miss Brown," but my conduct "was unbecoming to a teacher."

Worse still was a near scandal. Liking to dance, I took every opportunity to dance at parties and to go to such dances as were given. None of my dates except one was a good dancer, and we began to keep fairly steady company. Within a month, the superintendent called me in to talk this over. Imagine my surprise to hear that this young man was a "disreputable character." I had disgraced myself by being seen with him and my morals were "questionable."

From the moment you set foot in town as a new teacher, you are a public personage. Everything you say and do is an item of news and

gossip. An example comes to mind. In this town, I had come for an interview and had been riding the bus most of the morning. It was noon and I was hungry. There was only one restaurant and it was a sight to behold. Dishes and food were dirty and I said as much to the waitress, who in turn told the proprietor. Believe me, I felt sheepish when he turned up in the principal's office as a member of the board!

In my experience, the best families in town seldom keep teachers or board them. Even if given a free hand in finding a place to live, the teacher is still in for trouble. My worst experience came during my third year of teaching. After I was hired, the principal said I was to live with a Mr. and Mrs. Finch. Later I learned that the principal was on the spot, so to speak, and the Finches were his staunch supporters. The second day in this home, I found the youngest of their four children using my toothbrush. I gave him the brush and bought another. And then I found him with this second brush, which he said he liked better. Mrs. Finch thought this was "quite cute." Junior himself was "cute," in fact, everything was "cute" including my most intimate articles of clothing! Each piece no doubt had been handled and inspected.

Landladies everywhere check your comings and goings and regale the neighbors with gossip. One landlady was the prize of them all. She invented more tales about me than I care to remember. I met them coming back to me from all sides. My brother John came from college to visit with me over a week end. Since there was an extra room in the house, I asked if he might stay with us. To this day, "that man" was not my brother, and his visit had to be explained to a "deeply troubled" principal. We laughed at it then, laugh now, but it really wasn't funny.

Things are changing, but, oh, so slowly. Most smalltown teachers are still courting trouble to rouge their cheeks, use bright fingernail polish, do their hair in stylish ways, or wear ultramodish dresses. My skirts must not be too short, my blouses too clingy or colorful, my stockings too sheer. I must be conventional in my personal habits and discreet in my associations. Each morning I must have a cheerful "good morning" to everyone I meet, regardless of how I feel, and each evening a cheerful "good evening." And should I fail, I am stuck up, or not interested in the community, or some queer kind of person.

As for dating, I dare not be seen with the wrong person or at the wrong places. Hcbig's, where the high school crowd goes, is a wrong

place, and so is the local tavern. Once I went to an adjacent city to a dance and the whole town knew it by the next day. But to return to dating, I keep a kind of "approved list." In the second town where I taught, the eligibles numbered six. Two were young farmers, another was a widower looking for a housekeeper, a fourth was a rising young merchant, the fifth was a new minister, and the sixth has dropped out of mind completely. There were two men teachers, but I do not count them; they bored me as much as I bored them. No dating was allowed with students, one board ruling that has complete justification.

That particular town was a nightmare. If I bought my clothes in a near-by city, where one could get some selection of garments, I was charged with taking money out of the community. Owing to the chainstore scare, everybody was touchy on the "trade-at-home" issue. A teacher friend of mine bought a low-priced car in her home town and, for all I know, she is still talked about.

My salary then was about \$1,400, and I kept a savings account at the local branch bank. One day I drew out \$100. "Getting ready for a trip to Europe, eh?" said the cashier, a schoolboard member. "No, not this summer," I replied—wondering when, if ever, I could go abroad. "Going to summer school, I guess," was his rejoinder. "No," I said, and walked away. I should have told him that the money was for mother, but after so long one finds satisfaction in thwarting such busybodies.

I think I spoke about the pleasure I have always found in reading. I know now that the magazines I buy from the stand and the books I check out of the public library are likely to be watched. I remember once there was a point I wanted to check in Darwin's *Origin of Species* and I got a copy. Chancing to meet the minister that following Sunday, he asked me how I liked the book and then told me that it was an attack on the Christian religion. He did not approve its reading.

Owning a car creates a problem, yet it provides an escape from many of the conditions I have named. Two years ago at summer school, I began to smoke. Now I return to my room at noon for a cigarette or else take a drive in my car. My belief is that this will lead to no good end, and I guess I continue it as a symbol of freedom.

Friends of mine complain of the many extracurricular activities with which they are loaded. I find this work most enjoyable, because of my strong liking for young people. I have coached basketball teams, directed plays, and sold tickets for school affairs. I have joined youth groups and taken an active part in their programs. All teachers are

solicited for every charity afoot, and I have given until it hurt. Somehow, a teacher is expected to give more in proportion than other persons.

The worst thing about teaching is its insecurity. Today I have a job, tomorrow I may be unemployed. I may be discharged without a hearing, or with a mock hearing that is worse than none. If I fail to pay my debt to some local merchant, if I make a mistake in my personal conduct, if some home-town girl wants my job, if I go against some local prejudice, if my principal is too friendly, if I should join a teachers' union (we have none), then my fate is sealed.

This story is, I know, very biased. My only claim is that it is true. So far as the work goes, I like teaching. I like it better, perhaps, than anything else I could do. But on the social side, teaching leaves much to be desired. Why must we be paragons of old-fashioned virtues? Why can't we be let alone to lead a private life which is comparable to that of other professional women? If we are not mature, responsible persons, why are the young entrusted to us? I no longer worry about all of this as I did the first year but still, the reasons for it are not clear. Teaching, which should be a satisfying pursuit for any man or woman, remains for me less than a full-size, self-respecting kind of job.

If a teacher's life is so bad, why does anyone ever enter teaching? Why, in campus language, don't young people stay away in droves? One answer is that they do, that teacher shortages loom large in almost every important subject area. For example, a study as we write of 2,706 high-school seniors lists 6 per cent as indicating a desire to enter teaching. This is interpreted by the surveyors as "a totally inadequate number, representing a shortage of at least thirty thousand teachers a year on a national basis."² Of course, living conditions, the prestige of the occupation, and other community factors were of lesser consequence than low salaries and general lack of security in keeping young people out of teaching; yet 60 per cent of their reasons were noneconomic.

But this is not the full answer. The probability is that the case reported is not typical, certainly not typical of teachers in large-city and suburban areas; yet data still to be reported sug-

² Metropolitan School Study Council, New York, 1947.

gest that judgment be suspended. Big-city teachers, in a small checkup study, gave fairly conclusive evidence that their troubles—and they were not inconsequential—were mainly with the “thought police,” rather than on personal conduct, pressure groups and special interests, opinionated parents, biased school-board members, and school patrons who object to this and plug for that and chop off heads for behaviors that teachers assume as their right and privilege. Membership in a teachers’ union, identification with a political party, active support of a controversial cause illustrate some of the many sensitive spots in an urban teacher’s life.

A good way to study conduct problems in any teacher group is to present a series of multiple roles, for example, teacher-voter, which teachers are then asked to check as tolerated by the community, approved, disapproved, and uncertain. The role, teacher-politician, meaning one who campaigns for a nonschool cause or a political candidate, found about a fifth of a Detroit urban sample claiming community toleration, an opinion supported in part by their personal experiences. Starting with the role teacher-dance-band-leader and coming on down the list to teacher-bartender, the response was almost uniformly negative. Genuine exceptions appeared to be a few neurotic persons, who had somehow found a niche in teaching, and teachers who were completely soured on teaching, disdainful of the teacher role, or in revolt against it. In no case was this number large, not over 3 per cent of all teachers in the Detroit sample.

THE SELECTIVE PROCESS

Among the nation’s high-school graduates, who goes to college? Who majors in education, completes the training program, and becomes a teacher? Of those who make application, who gets the job? Who stays in teaching, and who leaves the profession? Obviously, a great sorting and sifting process is at work, one on which there is an abundant literature. We shall limit comment to sociological phases of the problem.

As an occupational group, teachers have identifying characteristics. In public schools, women outnumber men in ratios of 15 or 20 to 1, the ratio being less at the high-school level,

perhaps about 5 or 6 to 1. In rural and small-town schools, the age is younger than in city schools, preparation is less, salaries much lower, and fewer teachers on the average are married. Regardless of community size, teachers come generally from native white stock, of lower middle class or upper lower class backgrounds. They are predominately Protestant in religion, rather active church workers, and conservative in social attitudes.

In competition for placement, all ethnic group members, even individuals of foreign and mixed parentage, are at a disadvantage, except of course in distinctive urban or rural areas and in special types of schools. Outside of large cities, there is still a marked reluctance to employ married women; divorcees and extreme feminists are viewed with disfavor. Small places are usually prejudiced against nonresidents, in-state applicants are advantaged over out-of-state, and the South fears the racial views of northern teachers. Communists and socialists are viewed as dangerous, and active work in either major political party is likely to be a handicap. Teachers in ill health or addicted to habitual use of alcohol are unemployable.

Most teachers take their training in a state teachers college, usually a small college of a thousand or fewer students. These schools draw students from lower socioeconomic status levels than do liberal-arts colleges and large universities. When in college, the major test of survival is possibly economic. Can the prospective teacher live for two to four years on allowances from home plus part-time, low-paid employment? Another test is intellectual, not creative but adaptive intelligence, as required in the academic system. Third, there is the matter of social adjustment, the ability to live an emotionally healthy life, to take an active part in group activities, to like and be liked by people.

Once trained and certified, the prospective teacher is ready for employment. Unless conditions are most abnormal, he or she will join a profession of mobile, competitive, and somewhat restless people. Each year sees an addition in new teachers of 10 per cent or more of the total teaching population. It sees also a great amount of turnover among experienced teachers, a general movement toward better jobs, higher pay, and better living conditions. How do schools get teachers and teachers find the

kind of school they want? While the mechanics of placement need not concern us here, the bases on which applicants are accepted are of interest. The general picture has not changed much since Townsend's survey of placement bureaus and school appointive officers.

APPLICANTS WITH A HIGH E.Q. (EMPLOYMENT QUOTIENT)³

He or she has a prepossessing appearance, has good general health, is free from speech defects, dresses attractively, and, if a woman, uses cosmetics sparingly. He or she must possess poise, is emotionally mature and well adjusted, has a pleasing personality, much tact, is optimistic, resourceful, shows marked initiative and executive ability, and is truthful. The candidate is open-minded and enthusiastic, has a good social background, a pleasant speaking voice free from poor diction.

The candidate has a distinctly above-average vocabulary, a lively imagination, and is characterized by adaptability in a social situation. In student teaching and in college, he or she likes other people and gets along well with fellow teachers and students. He or she has participated more than the average student in extracurricular and employment activities. The candidate is a good conversationalist, being able to carry his or her share of an interview without embarrassment.

Many of these qualities are exactly the traits that make one successful in business or elsewhere and, in a woman, lead to marriage and homemaking. Teaching is, therefore, in competition with other occupations, being used often as a steppingstone to a different kind of career. One inducement to continue in teaching, perhaps the chief inducement to many teachers, is the salary it pays. While salaries are increasing, the profession is still notably underpaid in view of its requirements, a situation compensated for in part by a wide variety of nonmonetary job satisfactions.

³ M. Ernest Townsend, "Intellectual and Nonintellectual Factors Affecting Placement of Teachers College Graduates," *Reconstructing Education Through Research*, pp. 38-40, National Education Association of the United States, Washington, D.C., 1936.

COMMUNITY LIFE OF TEACHERS: A NATIONAL SURVEY

To get an accurate picture of the community life of teachers, a study was made of 9,122 cases selected as a national sample.⁴ After several pretests and revisions, the basic questionnaire was sent directly to the teacher in the school who took charge of its administration or else was given to summer classes and workshops at college centers. Respondent's name was not requested, and assurance was given that results would be used for scientific purposes.

In brief analysis, two-thirds of the 9,122 teachers studied were in the grades and one-third in high schools. About 29 per cent were men and 71 per cent women. Less than a fifth were under 25 years of age, one-half 25 to 34, and a fifth 35 to 44. One-fourth had taught less than 5 years, one-half less than 10, and a third 10 to 20. Over a fourth reported salaries under \$1,000 per year, one half under \$1,249, a third \$1,250 to \$1,999, with 11 per cent earning \$2,000 or more. About 38 per cent had fathers whose occupation most of life was farming, 26.1 per cent had fathers in small businesses, 18 per cent in day labor, and 4 per cent in professions. About 45 per cent said that neither parent had gone to high school, with only 17 per cent of the fathers and 14 per cent of the mothers attending college. Three-fourths of the sample came from homes where one or more members had been or were teachers.

Aside from regional skewness in favor of the Middle States area, the above sample compares favorably with what is known about teachers. Since community backgrounds are very relevant to the types of findings presented, these data are given in a table.

Table 12 is read as follows: 51.4 per cent of the 9,122 teachers were born in places of 2,500 or less. Of this number, 89.5 per cent have spent most of their life in such places, and 70.1 per

⁴ Lloyd Allen Cook and Florence Greenhoe, "Community Contacts of 9,122 Teachers," *Social Forces*, 19 (1940), 63-72. Used by permission. See also Greenhoe, *Community Contacts and Participation of Teachers*, 91 pp., American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1941.

TABLE 12. PLACE WHERE 9,122 TEACHERS SPENT MOST OF LIFE AND PLACE WHERE NOW TEACHING BY PLACE WHERE BORN: PER CENT RESPONSE

Where born	Total	Where spent most of life						Where now teaching					
		I*	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I. Under 2,500 . . .	51.4	89.5	30.6	29.4	23.1	21.0	29.3	70.1	43.0	45.9	36.7	32.5	23.4
II. 2,500-9,999 . . .	12.7	3.1	57.0	8.1	7.8	8.0	7.2	9.5	26.5	12.9	12.6	10.7	7.5
III. 10,000-49,999 . .	13.5	3.0	4.7	52.4	10.0	6.6	6.3	7.2	12.1	25.2	12.4	9.9	8.1
IV. 50,000-99,999 . .	3.8	0.6	1.2	1.7	48.7	2.8	1.8	1.4	3.7	2.5	26.1	1.8	1.4
V. 100,000 and over	9.8	2.0	3.0	6.0	7.6	59.6	5.7	5.2	8.1	7.5	6.6	39.6	6.2
VI. No response . .	8.8	2.0	3.5	2.4	2.8	2.0	49.7	6.6	5.8	6.0	5.5	5.5	53.4

* Numerals refer to size of communities as indicated in table stub.

cent are now teaching in this type of area. The two most important facts in the table are that teachers, on the whole, are predominately of small-town birth and backgrounds and that they tend to live and teach in communities of the same size as those in which they were reared.

THE TEACHER'S CHANGE OF POSITIONS

While it is known that teachers change jobs with some frequency, it is not known how often they move, for what reasons, and how far.

Using change of teaching location as an index, it was found that half the sample had shifted positions from one to three times and a tenth had moved four or five times. Two-fifths said the major reason for moving was to better their salary, a fourth to be in a more progressive school, and 14 per cent to be nearer home. High-school teachers moved to better salary more often than those in the grades, men more than women, and those near top salary levels more than those at lower levels. Less than a tenth reported an unsatisfactory community life as a direct cause of their change in teaching position, although at least half gave evidence that it was a factor in their better location.

As an index of distances traveled, teachers gave approximate mileage from and to successive points, as illustrated in Table 13. This table shows that 9.5 per cent of the sample reported a travel distance of less than 10 miles from the place of their last

TABLE 13. DISTANCES TRAVELED BETWEEN SUCCESSIVE POINTS OF REFERENCE BY 9,122 TEACHERS: PER CENT RESPONSE

Distances in miles	Last grade to last college	Last grade to first teaching	Last college to first teaching	First teaching to second teaching	First teaching to third teaching
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0- 9.9	9.5	25.3	5.8	16.8	10.1
10- 24.9	7.9	12.5	7.6	14.5	10.3
25- 49.9	10.8	7.6	11.3	9.8	8.0
50- 99.9	17.7	8.3	18.1	11.3	9.0
100-199.9	18.3	9.4	19.2	13.1	11.1
200-499.9	13.2	8.4	13.1	10.8	10.1
500 and over	10.9	4.1	8.9	4.9	6.0
No response	11.7	24.4	16.0	18.8	35.4

grade education to the place of their last college training. Again, well over half the persons started teaching within 50 miles of the place where they finished grade school, and over a fifth moved less than 25 miles from their first to third teaching positions.

By taking a 50-mile radius and eliminating no-response totals one can include from over a fourth to more than a half of all the moves listed. What this means is that teachers, *while they move often, do not tend to move far*; nor have they traveled far to any point studied with the possible exception of college. Moreover, as case materials show, not many of these changes are the kind that bring new mental stimulation. In the main, they are moves within similar worlds, such as from village to village within the same locality. While there is movement toward bigger places, it is of far less consequence than the trend just indicated. Thus the principle most descriptive of teacher mobility is that of *limited circulation*, and implications for teacher personality, for school, and the community relations are fairly evident.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHERS

To study attitudes toward the employment of so-called handicapped persons, a potential "employability quotient" was con-

structed. This was done by asking raters to assume that each of the "applicants" given in Table 14 was "well trained, certified and qualified" to teach. Assuming also that an opening existed, would such persons be employed in their school? The index was made by subtracting the "yes" replies from "no" replies for each rating group or vice versa, with the results given as a positive or negative index number.

TABLE 14. EMPLOYABILITY QUOTIENT OF POTENTIAL APPLICANTS FOR TEACHING POSITIONS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Applicant	As rated by			
	356 Board members	2,095 Lay persons	9,122 Teachers	3,054 Students
1. A known Protestant	76.5	84.9	93.5	93.5
2. Native-born, foreign name	56.3	73.2	88.5	89.9
3. Nonlocal resident	48.3	46.0	78.4	89.1
4. City-rated person	45.8	66.6	85.4	90.8
5. Out-of-state resident	15.4	27.5	69.4	64.9
6. A known Catholic	-21.3	9.5	53.1	68.0
7. A known pacifist	-22.8	5.3	29.7	40.4
8. A married woman	-32.1	-12.0	36.5	12.4
9. A known Jew	-41.3	2.3	44.8	41.5
10. A known militarist	-62.0	-50.1	-42.1	-25.0
11. A light Negro	-82.1	-54.2	-54.7	-33.6
12. A dark Negro	-85.7	-66.0	-63.4	-49.4
13. A known radical	-88.0	-72.5	-63.6	-48.2
14. Person in bad health	-93.3	-87.9	-54.7	-89.6
15. A known communist	-94.1	-83.2	-77.5	-57.9

Using schoolboard reactions as a basis,⁵ responses of all rating groups have been arrayed in Table 14 in positive to negative order. Clearly, the results show the operation of prestige and prejudice in conceptions of a teacher's social fitness for teaching.

For example, in the above table, a white Protestant applicant is outstanding in his chances for job placement. Pacifists fare

⁵ In three trial tests, board members over the nation did not respond to the mailed questionnaire. The sample of 356 was obtained at a state meeting (Ohio) addressed by the present author. Since board members react to school issues in their official rather than in their personal capacity, they are not usually so conservative as pictured, except in school matters.

much better than militarists, though board members disapprove of both; light Negroes better than dark, Jews better than communists. Item analysis shows striking—often curious—differences within and between rating groups, though we shall pass over these in favor of more general findings.

Presumably one is dealing here with attitudes which can be expressed on a continuum. A simple method of determining liberalism-conservatism is to assign values from 1 to 4 to the rank-order position of respective rating groups on each of the 15 items, giving the value of 1 to the group with the highest positive rating, 2 to the next highest, etc. Using this procedure, the final composite score was: students, 19; teachers, 27; lay citizens, 44; and board members, 59. Put in other words, students in training to be teachers were outstanding in their liberalism, teachers a close second, lay persons third, and schoolboard members a distant last.

Variations within rating groups were numerous. For instance, among lay citizens, men were slightly more liberal than women, professional workers twice as liberal as farmers, and those who had attended college much more liberal than those who had not. Among teachers, no significant differences were found by age and sex. High-school teachers were more liberal than those in the grades, teachers in larger communities more liberal than those in smaller places. Among students, there was a fairly uniform increase in liberalism with class level from sophomores to juniors and seniors.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY LIFE

To study teacher participation in organized community life, a check list of some fifty groupings and activities was prepared from teacher life-histories, and respondents were asked to write in others. Table 15 shows both the number and nature of teacher participations, the data being limited to a highly accurate sampling of Ohio teachers.

Table 15 shows that 95 per cent of the teachers were members of one or more community groups or activities, exclusive of school clubs and affairs, with the modal number at five. Four-fifths gave money to one or more of these enterprises, about the

TABLE 15. PARTICIPATION OF 2,870 OHIO TEACHERS IN COMMUNITY GROUPS AND ACTIVITIES: PER CENT RESPONSE

Number of activities	Regular member			Pay dues or give money			Attend meetings			Officer or sponsor		
	M*	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
None.....	5.6	4.5	4.8	23.1	18.8	20.1	24.7	21.9	22.7	51.6	61.2	58.2
One.....	5.0	4.6	4.7	11.0	10.6	10.7	10.8	9.1	9.7	18.2	18.4	18.4
Two.....	10.5	7.3	8.3	12.0	10.5	11.0	16.8	12.7	13.9	12.3	10.3	10.9
Three.....	14.4	11.2	12.2	15.9	13.3	14.1	16.7	16.9	16.9	8.9	5.6	6.6
Four.....	14.8	14.3	14.4	13.5	14.4	14.1	12.6	14.8	14.1	5.0	2.3	3.1
Five.....	14.9	16.4	16.0	9.1	11.9	11.0	8.6	11.9	10.9	1.7	1.3	1.4
Six.....	12.7	12.2	12.4	6.9	8.0	7.7	4.9	6.7	6.1	1.4	0.6	0.8
Seven.....	8.0	10.5	9.7	3.9	5.0	4.6	3.0	3.4	3.2	0.9	0.3	0.5
Eight.....	5.3	7.5	6.9	2.8	3.6	3.3	1.0	1.5	1.3	0.1	0.1	0.1
Nine.....	3.6	5.0	4.6	1.0	2.0	1.7	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ten†.....	2.3	2.3	2.3	0.1	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0

* M, male; F, female; All, both sexes.

† About 3 per cent engaged in 11 to 19 activities.

same proportion attended meetings, and 41.8 per cent were officers or sponsors in these groupings. With one exception, the modal number of activities in each area of participation ranged from three to four, with men averaging higher ratios than women up to four or five groups. Here women took the lead in all types of participation save that of officer or sponsor. If community leadership is indicated by the number of groups in which office is held, *men make a better showing than women*; yet even among the men, only a tenth of them are officers in three or more organizations.

To suggest the character of these groups and activities, we have classified the fifty-odd specific enterprises into 10 general types. The chief content (groups, causes, etc.) of the five types showing greatest teacher participation is: *religious*, church, Sunday school, Bible study, church youth groups, and mission societies; *professional*, alumni, P.T.A., mothers' clubs, child-study groups, adult-education classes, and A.A.U.P.; *relief and welfare*, Red Cross, community chest, child welfare, Women's Benefit, and other charities; *leisure pursuits*, social groups, bridge clubs, book review, hobby clubs, dramatics, literary, musicals, and coun-

TABLE 16. MAJOR TYPES OF COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN WHICH 2,870 OHIO TEACHERS PARTICIPATE: PER CENT RESPONSE

Types of activities	Regular member			Pay dues or money			Officer, sponsor		
	M *	F	All	M	F	All	M	F	All
1. Religious	80.0	85.1	83.6	57.3	64.0	61.9	27.8	20.1	22.5
2. Professional	66.5	79.2	75.3	45.3	51.2	49.4	15.7	12.7	13.6
3. Relief, welfare	42.2	50.9	48.2	30.3	39.8	36.9	2.0	1.9	1.9
4. Leisure pursuits	28.6	45.4	40.2	13.3	22.7	19.8	6.7	7.2	7.0
5. Civic groups	24.9	28.9	27.7	17.2	22.1	20.6	5.1	3.6	4.0
6. Fraternal orders	43.3	20.6	27.6	34.9	16.2	21.9	8.5	4.3	5.6
7. Youth groups	45.7	8.1	19.6	7.4	5.3	6.0	13.6	8.0	9.8
8. Political groups	18.3	9.3	12.1	1.8	2.1	2.0	0.2	0.1	0.1
9. Patriotic societies	6.6	2.6	3.8	5.0	2.5	3.3	1.1	0.6	0.8
10. Economic interests ..	5.3	2.7	3.5	3.3	1.7	2.2	0.2	0.2	0.2

* M, male; F, female; all, both sexes.

try club; and *civic associations*, service clubs, Farm Bureau, Grange, citizen clubs, entertainment and holiday programs.

Without doubt the two types of community activities making the greatest claim on teacher time and energy are religious and professional. Table 16 shows, for example, that over four-fifths of the teachers studied were regular members of the church and/or subsidiary bodies and that two-thirds contributed money to this work. Judging from the table, it is here, and perhaps only here, that teachers show a substantial local leadership in so far as officeholding is an index.

Types are subjective concepts, depending on a number of variables, hence these findings can be objectified some by indicating the leading specific groups and movements in which teachers were active. Data in Table 17 are based on the national sample.

Over two-thirds of the 9,122 teachers reported regular membership in the church and about one-half in parent-teacher associations. Furthermore, Table 17 shows that, with one exception, high-school teachers have higher membership, money-giving, and office-holding ratios than do grade teachers, a finding which suggests that the former are more active than grade teachers in

TABLE 17. SPECIFIC COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES IN WHICH 9,122 TEACHERS SHOW GREATEST PARTICIPATION: PER CENT RESPONSE

Specific activity	Regular member				Pay dues or give money				Officer—Sponsor			
	Grade		Sex		Grade		Sex		Grade		Sex	
	Elem.	H.S.	M	F	Elem.	H.S.	M	F	Elem.	H.S.	M	F
1. Church.....	62.1	75.1	74.0	68.2	38.1	56.6	44.9	50.0	10.6	11.4	16.4	5.5
2. P.T.A.	48.9	52.1	49.7	51.3	33.3	35.5	32.6	36.2	8.2	7.4	9.4	6.2
3. Sunday school	33.6	38.8	41.4	30.9	22.0	26.8	27.9	20.9	11.2	14.7	15.7	10.2
4. Red Cross....	33.5	40.2	37.5	36.2	25.7	33.5	29.6	29.6	1.2	1.4	1.7	0.9
5. Alumni Assn..	26.3	35.8	33.2	29.0	14.7	25.5	19.0	20.6	2.7	4.2	3.9	3.5
6. Lodge.....	19.6	30.6	33.8	10.4	14.9	24.3	26.3	12.9	3.9	6.2	6.9	3.2
7. Church youth	12.3	9.8	11.9	10.2	7.2	7.0	7.0	7.2	4.5	4.0	4.8	3.7
8. Social club....	11.0	16.0	12.8	13.6	4.9	9.2	7.2	6.9	2.3	2.9	0.4	2.4
9. Bridge club..	8.4	18.9	6.9	20.4	1.9	2.6	1.5	2.9	0.3	0.4	2.8	0.5
10. Y.M.C.A.— Y.W.C.A. ...	7.1	12.0	9.0	10.1	5.8	9.7	7.2	8.8	1.0	1.7	1.8	0.9

local community life. In membership and contributions, sex differences are about as expected, but in officeholding, male teachers show a consistent superiority. Although not indicated in the table, participation varies by community size. In general, the smaller the area, the more its teachers engaged in the kinds of activities studied.

Attention may be called to another type of community participation. For example, about a third of the 9,122 teachers said they visited no pupil homes, two-fifths 1 to 4 homes per average month, one-fifth 5 to 14, and 4 per cent 15 homes or more. About 43 per cent spoke at local meetings on educational problems "at times," 3.5 per cent "often," and 1 per cent "regularly." A fourth wrote school news for the local paper "sometimes," 4 per cent "often," and 4.4 per cent "regularly." Data were collected in a supplementary survey on participation in home-talent plays, on teaching a Sunday school class, taking pupils on field trips, arranging exhibits of schoolwork, making community surveys, uses of radio and the like, but since the categories ("at times," "often," etc.) were not very meaningful, we shall not detail these findings.

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY PRESSURES

In interviews and life-history materials, teachers made frequent references to "pressures" placed on them to join community clubs, support local causes, and refrain from taking part in various groups and movements. Of the 2,870 Ohio teachers canvassed on this point, 24.9 per cent listed such controls over their out-of-school life. This percentage varied little for rural and urban areas, for sex or income, but age and grade appeared to be significant differentials. Younger teachers, especially those under 25 years of age, reported pressures with greater frequency than those over 45, and high-school teachers with greater frequency than those in the grades. We did not attempt to find the exact nature of these pressures or their intensity, leads that would be interesting for a college class to follow.

CONDUCT CODES

Perhaps the most significant phase of the total survey was an inquiry into community conduct codes for teachers. After an exploratory survey of 622 teachers in three states, the forms of behavior seen in Table 18 were selected for major study. These were chosen because of their wide prevalence as matters of community concern and, at times, of serious teacher maladjustment. Rating groups were asked to express reactions in terms of six categories: strong and mild approval, indifference, mild and strong disapproval, and discharge teacher. Since replies are too complex for brief summary, we shall indicate trends by means of net reaction scores. These scores were found by subtracting a rating group's percentage disapproval response (strong and mild) from its approval response or vice versa on each item and giving the final result a plus or minus value. Table 18 shows these scores for three groups of raters. Lay persons are omitted due to space limitations.

In Table 18, "owning an automobile" is most strongly approved by all groups, whereas, at the opposite extreme, "dating a student" is most strongly opposed by board members and teachers but not by students. Joining a teachers' union has been hotly debated in many communities, and it is interesting to note that

TABLE 18. NET REACTION SCORES OF THREE RATING GROUPS TO SELECTED ASPECTS OF TEACHER BEHAVIOR

Teacher behavior	356 Schoolboard members		9,122 Teachers		3,054 Students	
	M *	F	M	F	M	F
1. Owning an automobile	61.3	60.0	64.4	59.6	81.0	79.3
2. Dating a town person	31.7	28.9	49.7	46.5	65.8	64.2
3. Dating another teacher	19.6	19.5	35.2	40.5	67.3	66.7
4. Leaving area over week-ends †	0.8	0.9	9.9	5.5	5.8	-6.7
5. Pay for coaching, speaking, etc.	-2.8	-3.1	30.4	29.0	23.3	21.8
6. Single teachers living in apt.	-6.2	-11.2	24.6	24.5	36.4	29.7
7. Buying clothes, etc. out of area	-8.5	19.4	-4.3	-4.0	-1.6	-1.5
8. Smoking in private	-9.8	-46.2	11.5	11.2	35.0	1.4
9. Not attending church	-9.9	-69.0	-54.8	-54.5	-61.6	-62.2
10. Playing cards for money	-18.2	-56.6	-69.2	-70.0	-72.3	-77.
11. Joining Teachers' Union	-22.5	-23.1	9.1	8.5	22.2	22.
12. Dancing at public dance	-23.9	-26.4	5.7	4.2	25.7	19.
13. Playing pool or billiards	-25.0	-38.2	-8.0	-17.8	-3.6	-47.2
14. Living outside community ...	-27.2	-29.7	-11.7	-10.8	-37.4	-39.1
15. Teaching controversial issues .	-34.9	-36.7	-1.2	-1.4	34.2	32.9
16. Smoking in public	-48.1	-80.7	-25.2	-61.9	-16.1	-66.7
17. Playing cards for fun	-48.1	16.9	54.3	54.5	66.8	76.1
18. Making a political speech	-55.7	-55.9	-34.9	-40.5	-53.7	-60.3
19. Running for political office ..	-56.1	-56.4	-33.4	-34.2	-58.4	-57.7
20. Drinking alcoholic liquors ...	-80.1	-81.3	-71.8	-73.2	-76.5	-76.7
21. Dating a student	-86.0	-85.7	-84.4	-86.4	-68.8	-74.0
22. Use of rouge, lipstick, etc. ....	....	0.4	....	45.5	....	65.3
23. Woman teaching after marriage ‡	....	-43.2	....	-1.5	....	-24.5

* M, male (teacher); F, female (teacher).

† Item reads "leaving community often over week-ends."

‡ Item reads "a woman who continues to teach after marriage."

board members oppose it by about the same strength with which education majors favor it. Here, as in a few other cases, teachers appear to be evenly divided in opinion or fairly indifferent to the issue.⁶ "Smoking in private" and "smoking in public" bring to light a curious but typical situation. Board members

⁶ Owing to the scoring system, low composite indexes could result from either a fairly even balancing of strong pro and con views or else, as was usually true, from a general attitude of neutrality or indifference.

oppose the practice in both male and female teachers, while teachers and students approve smoking in private for men and women but disapprove smoking in public for both sexes. This suggests, of course, a characteristic pattern of teacher adjustment to community taboos. While the war has brought changes in almost all conduct codes, many teachers smoke (if at all) behind closed doors and drawn blinds or furtively on the way to and from school. Many truly believe it to be "conduct unbecoming a teacher," conduct that brings pupil disrespect and community disapproval.

If an indifferent area be defined as comprising all scores in Table 18 within 10 points of zero, it will be seen that each rating group has from three to six items on which it shows no strong positive or negative reaction. In general, however, group reactions were not indifferent; they were, on the contrary, clear and decisive. There are few instances in which the sex of the teacher is immaterial, and, as a general rule, *the scales are heavily weighted against women*. Conduct approved in males is less approved in females, and conduct opposed in men is more vigorously opposed in women. This is, of course, our conventional sex ideology, and teachers themselves become carriers of these mores. Curiously students, who are exposed in college to a philosophy of sex equality and to the role of reason in social relations, tend to accept nonetheless the conventional "double-standard" point of view.

TEACHER REACTIONS TO COMMUNITY CONTROLS

Asked to inspect the above data, a very liberal school superintendent said he thought it all might be true, except in large cities and suburban areas, but that "teachers weren't doing anything about it." What teachers say they are doing is seen in Table 19. The most significant fact is the high percentage of teachers who frankly report an acceptance of community control over their out-of-school conduct. Elementary teachers are more inclined to accept such regulation than high-school teachers, women more than men. Knowing what this often means in concrete reality, one may hazard the conclusion that no other basic profession, except the ministry, is so beholden to tradi-

TABLE 19. REACTION PATTERNS OF 9,122 TEACHERS TO COMMUNITY CONTROL OF THEIR NONSCHOOL CONDUCT BY GRADE AND SEX

Grade and sex	Number of teachers	Per cent reporting reactions of						No reply
		Accept	Rebel	Protest	Evade	Educate *	Other	
Elementary	6,062	49.2	10.4	0.9	3.8	15.9	4.0	15.7
Male ...	946	41.5	9.5	0.6	5.6	26.0	4.1	12.6
Female .	5,116	50.5	10.5	0.9	3.5	14.1	4.2	16.3
Secondary	2,422	46.9	11.3	1.2	3.8	17.5	5.6	13.8
Male ...	1,335	42.4	9.8	1.0	4.7	20.9	5.4	14.5
Female .	1,087	51.8	12.9	1.5	2.6	12.0	6.1	13.1
No reply .	638	40.6	8.3	0.8	3.4	25.0	4.7	17.2

* Reads: "educate community to greater tolerance of teacher behavior."

tional conceptions of role and function as are the nation's teachers.

REACTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Time has been spent on the above survey because it is imperative to learn well the kinds of conditions under which teachers say they live, and no study exactly comparable to this survey has ever been made.⁷ While times are changing toward more liberal views, *wherever teachers cannot fully exercise the freedoms of personal living and citizen participation accorded any other professional group, mental health and good teaching are impaired.* Aside from occasional local effort set going often by some petty crisis in school affairs, we know of no organized professional movement to enlarge the nation's perceptions of teacher role and status. We know of no other great social-service body either so blind to facts affecting the morale and appeal of the profession or else so slow in taking large-scale effective action.

Faced with the data reported, some education majors think for the first time about the teacher's life in the community, wondering if they are fitted for it. Others are for the moment too

⁷ Cf. Lloyd Allen Cook and Edward G. Olsen, "School and Community Relations," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 1950.

disturbed to do much thinking, saying that they will withdraw from the training program. Still others refuse to face the facts, claiming that conditions cannot be as bad as painted, that any now they plan to teach in big cities where, as they believe, "one's private life is his own." A few, by contrast, will group themselves at the opposite pole. They will show a willingness to accept community controls, however narrow and senseless such "blue laws" may be, believing that this adjustment is either compulsory or else will make them better teachers. Expediency enters into this thinking, the desire for quick advancement in rank and salary.

We would stress, first of all, that case material and statistics on the teacher's community adjustments have combined to create a highly teachable moment in the life of every young student. For perspective, one should surely keep in mind the general character of the nation's million-odd school teachers. He would be interested to know that "public-school teacher" ranked a third down from the top in a national poll sampling of 90 major occupations.⁸ He might well recall teachers he has personally known, teachers whom he admired and respected. We have data to show a tremendous amount of student patterning on teacher models at every educational level, amazing instances of teachers who became parent substitutes for misunderstood and/or talented children.

To hold that people teach because they can do nothing else does not merit serious attention. Some teachers of course are incompetent, some are queer, some are indifferent to people, but each stands out like a rotted speck in an apple. Among teachers whom we know, by far the majority find in their life and work full use for all their talents, the kinds of satisfactions which they value. The richness of one's life and its service potentials are a highly personal matter. For people without wealth and position in particular, the range of choice in big decisions is never great. It is, for most of us, always narrow, always hedged about

⁸ Public-school teacher ranked 36th, college professor 7th. Poll conducted in March, 1947, by National Opinion Research Center in cooperation with the President's Scientific Research Board and the College Study in Intergroup Relations.

with inescapable barriers. How one elects to live his life, eventually to kill himself—for that is the ultimate cost of living—is a momentous decision. Teaching can be made a full-size job for full-size people. It is for them beyond doubt a good way to live and, in time, to end one's living.

THE TEACHER AS A STRANGER

Much of what should be said about the teacher in the community derives from a rich sociological literature on "the stranger."⁹ In technical usage, the stranger is "a potential wanderer," a person who has gone far but not far enough to outgrow the habit of going. Not being a native, a "landowner," or bearer of local customs, he is detached from the values that bind others. He is, in sum, an individual without a known history. He is an outsider seeking group toleration, acceptance, and perhaps intimate association. Typical strangers are the immigrant, any racial outgroup member, a countryman in the city or vice versa, the "selectee" who joins the army, a student entering college, a boy friend on a visit to his girl's family, any person wanting to join a closed grouping of any kind.

In applying this viewpoint to the teacher, it is relevant to start with the observation that "personality is the subjective aspect of culture." Put otherwise, the teacher is the product of all of the past living he has done, the experiences he has had. Experiential backgrounds are extremely varied, so that teachers come in no one distinctive pattern. They differ in every conceivable way, a fact of great concern to the community in which they find employment. What makes this concern so compulsive is that teachers touch community life at its most sensitive point, its children, for if children are not processed in the old ways then community existence is felt to be endangered. Knowing the teacher's potentials for influencing the young in varied directions, the community views its incoming school folk with mixed feelings. What kind of a person is this newcomer, this stranger in our midst? Where did he come from? What does he believe? Where is he heading? Is he a fit guide for our children?

⁹ For example, Margaret M. Wood, *The Stranger: A Study in Social Relationship*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1934.

JUDGING A TEACHER'S WORTH

After addressing the meeting for which I was brought to the community, Mr. Snowden, who had been a student of mine in college, asked me if I had time to take a drive with him through the country. Still puzzled about him, the affectionate way people greeted him, the high esteem in which he was held, for he had seemed to me an average sort of fellow, I told him I would be glad to make the trip.

As we drove along, he amazed me with his offhand stories about families whose farms we passed. His own background had been farming and he knew it inside and out, more knowledge than he had ever displayed on any subject in any of my classes. Pulling up in a barnyard, we saw that a butchering was going on. One hog had been scraped, another was being scalded and a third had just been shot. The farmer, a neighbor and a hired hand were working, each so busy he scarcely noticed that we had come into the yard.

I believe the car was still rolling when my friend jumped out, telling me to "come on, let's have some fun." Within a minute flat, his coat was off, his sleeves rolled up. Knife in hand, he asked the farmer "how he wanted 'er cut up," this way or that in words I did not understand. For the next half hour, he worked steadily, joshing the men, speaking their language, merging into their silences, fitting himself to their successive moods and work tasks.

As I watched these operations, I was no longer puzzled as to Snowden's school success. For better or for worse, in the thinking of these three men, anyone who could butcher a "hawg" could, obviously, run a school, and that was that.

Faced with the task of judging a newcomer's worth, assessment is made, not on technical items as a bookish person might expect, but on practical matters, matters on which judges have had experience and feel competent to pass. Reasoning is simple. If a person can do so-and-so, if what he says makes sense, if he knows and believes what "common folk" believe, then it seems clear that he can teach school. He is a fit guide for children, a rightful candidate for membership in the adult community group. Even among sophisticated people, this is still the crucial test set for an incoming school head or teacher, the way the public accords him the status, the faith, and confidence on which his success in the long run will depend.

From the teacher's standpoint, the task of changing status from a stranger to a community member is never easy, never certain, never complete. Area culture patterns, especially the "of-course assumptions" on which much of life is run, never look the same to an outsider as to an in-group member. The young teacher in particular is a kind of disinterested onlooker, viewing indiscriminately the whirl of things about him, the persons and events which somehow stand out. Presently, his focus of attention will sharpen. He will begin, perhaps unwittingly, to organize perceptions in terms of their bearing on his own well-being, their relevance to his present actions and future plans. Where he had refrained from participating in the local network of schemes, motives, chances, fears, hopes, in sum the concerns of men, he will now begin to take a cautious part. Contradictions will puzzle him; inconsistencies will be evident, for he still looks with a stranger's eye on the flow of events. His logic will not be that of the insider, beholden to the idols of the tribe, nor yet that of the detached, impersonal scientist, searching for the truth, speaking out on whatever he finds. It will be a planful means-ends calculation, the logic needed to effect changes in people, to work with them for the improvement of their life.

Time brings insight to some teachers and to some only more confusion, and it seems unlikely that we shall ever understand just why. For example, the case given earlier in the chapter shows an almost unbroken series of pathetic mistakes. To illustrate, the girl said the food was dirty, only to face later the restaurant owner as a schoolboard member, a blunder that no thoughtful person, much less a tactful one, would have made. One might draw three morals from this incident, morals that figure heavily in teacher success. People like people who like them or like the things they like. Interlocking directorates are by no means confined to large towns; in small places, one person may hold a number of important offices. Third, it would be hard to overestimate the importance of language in human affairs, the way it makes trouble when no hurt was intended.

To give language an added emphasis, it can be said that the whole history of an area will be mirrored in its ways of saying things, the ingenious meanings words take on, the idioms, pro-

verbs, humor, and the like. In working in an average small community, one is handicapped if he does not know the Bible, just as in a class-conscious labor group he should know Karl Marx. Take for instance the insight of a classroom teacher in a heterogeneous urban area, an insight so subtle that the point may well be missed by a casual reader.

MOTIVATING AN OLD-WORLD CLASS-CONSCIOUS MOTHER

At a grade school almost within the shadow of Chicago's Tribune Tower, I had spent the day visiting various rooms. With school over, it was time to take leave when the teacher asked if I cared to stay for some conferences with parents, suggesting that I sit in a far corner of the room. The first conference was routine, well handled but nothing new. And then Mrs. Winowski came in, holding firmly to a squirming little boy, her son Willie.

"Mrs. Winowski," said the teacher, "I sent for you because of Willie." "Yes," was the impatient reply. "Yes," said the teacher, "Willie is missing school. He does not come to school." "Yes, yes, dat is Willie, playing at hooky runaway all de time," and the mother shrugged her shoulders, relieved that nothing serious had happened. "Well," the teacher continued, "when Willie is here, he will not study his lessons." Something funny struck the woman for she laughed outright. "Yes, yes, dat is mine Willie. When work is to do, he is all gone out, away." Still trying to touch some responsive chord, the teacher said that Willie was not learning. He could not spell or read or write, and again the mother agreed. Willie was like his pa, just a "no good boy." There was, it seemed, no controlling Willie.

After ever so brief a pause, the teacher changed her tactics. She made to this foreign-born mother a speech notable for its clarity, its brevity and appeal. "You see, Mrs. Winowski, it is like this. I am the teacher here; I am in charge of this room. I am teaching here like this," and the speaker moved about in imitation of her work, "and the principal comes in. She looks this way and that and what does she see? She sees that Willie is not here or that he is asleep or that he will not work. What does she say to me? She says to me, 'Miss Adams, this is *not* good teaching; this is very, very bad.' So, you know now what will happen? I will be called in and scolded and then I will lose my job."

To all of this, Mrs. Winowski listened with increasing interest. Suddenly, she slapped Willie down or pushed him over. She picked him up, shook him and, with much animation, poured out words in her

own tongue, stopping only when her anger had subsided. In reply to the teacher's question as to what she had said, the mother answered simply that she had told her son to be good. Questioned again, she did not evade. "I said 'Willie, you come here to schule. You read de lesson. You work hard and you stay up, awake. And Willie, I am telling you why. De teacher, she ain't de boss; de teacher is a worker. Like me and your pa, *de teacher is a worker!*'"

Struggle as one may to learn his people, the conditions of their life, their sensitivities, and value leanings, a teacher is destined always to remain somewhat aloof, somewhat beyond and apart. He is *in* the local culture but not *of* it. His early life is too much with him, his *milieu natal* too determinative of his basic character structure. His college training and intellectual pursuits further differentiate him from the public whom he serves. This is, for effective teaching, as it should be. It provides the framework for impartial treatment of all children, for empathy (rather than sympathy) in dealing with them, for making changes in school and community life. Once this view is really caught, a mind-set is created for living and working with an area's people. Even a gossipy landlady, often a source of great harm, can do yeoman service under guidance. Why not send out the news that should be made known? Why not put the proper answers on the wires? Why not . . . but by now the point is clear or it isn't, and, as we have said, it is impossible to predict in any new crop of teachers who will learn and who will fumble.

At best, however, every teacher, old hand or new, will live as a "marginal man" in the place where he teaches, assuming that his role as a teacher is known in the adult community. And this is, to repeat, as it should be for good teaching, for the teacher is a bridge builder, a chain in a link that binds all peoples together. He lives and thinks and acts within the narrow limits of hearth and kin, a localistic cultural pattern, but he draws ideas from the world at large, the timeless, spaceless world of great thinkers and great people.

Problems and Projects

1. Recall your initial reactions to the first case in this chapter, the way you felt about teaching after you finished reading "Eight Years of Teaching." Have your feelings changed? Why or why not?

2. If a teacher's nonschool life is as bad as the English teacher makes out, why does anyone enter teaching? Can you write a short paper to be turned in, telling frankly why you plan to become a teacher?

3. Appoint a study committee to construct a questionnaire from the items found in Tables 14, 16, and 18. Give this questionnaire in class, and compare results with those reported in the tables.

4. Invite the director of teacher placement in the college to meet with the class and talk over the community aspect of a teacher's life.

5. Send to the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., for the U. S. Office of Education Bulletin 17, *Public Relations for Rural and Village Teachers*, 1946. Present to class the main points in this practical guide to conduct in smaller communities.

6. Arrange a series of sociodramas centering on job interviews of teacher applicants with school heads and board members. Invite in the local superintendent of schools to comment on these interviews as each one is concluded.

7. Make a 5-minute talk to the class on "the teacher as a stranger," putting into your own words the interpretation advanced in the textbook.

8. Is the moral of the Snowden case that anyone who can butcher hogs can obviously teach school? In what sense is this true? How is it untrue? Give illustrations of your answers.

9. Could teachers in smaller places profit by use of the participant-observer technique described by Florence Kluckhohn, *American Journal of Sociology* 46 (1940), 331-343?

10. To what extent do you personally agree with the ideas of Roma Gans in "The Teacher in the Community," *Teachers College Record*, 43 (1941), 100-107?

11. Interview some experienced teacher on her community life. If she lives and teaches in a large city, check over with her the points made in the chapter, especially the reference to "thought police."

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CHAPTER 19

CAMPUS CULTURE AND LEARNING

Let us assume that the college campus is a world of its own, a functional community intelligible in terms of its population and its ways of living. Students come and students go, and so with the faculty, but campus culture goes on forever. It changes to be sure, as alumni point out; yet its life-span seems unending. College life does have, of course, a well-buttressed continuity. Each graduate, in a sociological sense, lives many years, not four years, in college. As a freshman, he associates with students three years ahead of him; as a senior, he can look back on incoming freshmen. Few institutions have such a strong human chain for their own preservation and enrichment.

What is college really like? As a social system, how is it set up? How does it function? In what ways, open and devious, does it catch incoming neophytes, shape them in its norms, fill them with its spirit, stamp them with its symbols? What do students learn in all this living, and how can their learnings be improved? Once thought centers fully on these problems, the need for study will be evident. Little will be said about the college classroom since it was discussed in the second chapter.

What gives campus problems their larger significance is the prospect of new peaks in college enrollments. "For most of us," writes a college president in glimpsing the future for all colleges, "the odds are that we shall not get smaller, or stay the same, or grow just a little. Barring war, enrollments which began to drop in 1949 to 1950, will rise again and keep on climbing."¹ Before the Second World War, it was predicted that 2.7 million students

¹ William Pearson Tolley, "Some Observations on the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education," *Educational Record* (October, 1948), 371-380.

would be in college in 1960. In a current history-making report,² it is held that 4.6 million "should be" enrolled at that date. However one may react, it is certain that big numbers lie ahead, that new strains will be put on campus living.

CENTERS OF CAMPUS LIVING

When foreign educators visit our campuses, they are surprised, shocked, and amused by the flow of events before them, the strange sights and sounds to which they are introduced. They remark that the college idea, an European importation, has suffered many changes in the sea voyage, that back home things are different. To make sense out of first impressions, assuming that college life does have a logic, one might want to spot some high lights, to give them interpretation in terms of a systematic point of view.

FIGHT! FIGHT! FIGHT!

John Doe, sophomore, an average "C" student, never counted for much in the life of his school. Day after day, in the same old way, he gets up, grabs a bite, dashes off to class. Every weekday, at two o'clock he is through with classes and goes to work. Over week-ends, he dates, often double dating with a pal. Just now, John is sitting in the stadium, wedged against students on either side. For an hour, he has been cramped up, and the cold has begun to nibble at him. "Well," he notes, as the sun drops past the concrete wall, "the gang put up a real fight. To lose to that bunch of giants by three points is no crime."

And then, like a clap of thunder, a bellow comes from the man behind him, a Sunday quarterback playing the game ahead of the players, and a knee hits John on the shoulder, bringing him wide-awake. Without thinking, he stands up, drawn up by the surge of people about him, yelling like mad. Still afraid to believe his senses, he sees a boy in Old Gold colors break away from the scrimmage line. John yells into a wall of yells as the runner twists and turns, dodging would-be tacklers, sprinting on toward the final hazard, the opposition's safety playing far back. Like other spectators, John grits his teeth, clenches his fists, takes successive body postures, as if to guard the runner and pull him

² *Higher Education for American Democracy, The Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education*, Harper, New York, 1947.

on. Seconds seem like hours, a lifetime of hours, as the ball carrier eats up yardage. Now he swings out wide to get by the safety man who cuts toward him on a sharper angle, and the crowd goes wild. Before its advice can be articulated, before the crisis is fully felt, the runner stops short, turns and clears the tackler, and dashes on to the goal line. "Who was it? Who was it," John Doe shouts into the now jubilant crowd. And then the chant begins: "Tippy, Tippy, good ol' Tippy," and praise of Tippy's prowess fills the air.

John Doe does not sit down. Minutes later he is still standing at his seat, somebody's crumpled hat in hand, tasting the victory, keeping time with the band. He is warm now, warm through and through. There is a curious look in his eyes. It is good to go to college, to be a part of *this* college, and the world is fine.

"What's in it?" a professor said about football. "Where's all the fun? I just don't get it." His companion was not known for repartee; yet he made local history when he remarked, simply, "Don't you wish you could?" He himself, though he did not confide in his friend, had discovered the fun of knowing and talking about the college world of sports and activities, work and achievement, tragedy, comedy, and news. Other professors, by contrast, never come to see the campus as a great, expensive playground, an organized way of amusing and instructing young people who might, under different societal conditions, be laboring in factories, stores, and on farms. They do not understand the endless "social activities," claiming as they do so much student time. They do not, in particular, make head or tail out of athletics, each event a great public spectacle, attracting thousands. "Crazy" athletics may be; morally wrong they often are. Yet neither viewpoint explains what John Doe felt, what thousands of students deeply feel.

Spectators do not go to football games and yell themselves hoarse because they understand the intricacies of the sport. Nor would they go solely because of the crowd or the showy pageantry. In time of war, robust patriots and timid ones rally to the colors and so with a college community on the day of a big game. Before the game and at it, the atmosphere is that of combat. "Fight," urge pep session speakers. "Fight" exhort the coaches. "Fight" yell the cheer leaders, a cry that echoes from

delirious fans. Football is sublimated battle, and in it can be found release for pent-up emotions, an escape from *tedium vitae*, a venting of aggressions. For the moment, John Doe breaks away from the prosaic features of his life, his methodical plodding. He feels a lift to the spirit, an ego expansion. To the extent that he is caught up in the contagion of the crowd, he becomes a unit in the we-group life that is the campus.

A mistake that any stranger might make in searching for centers of college life as students use the term would be to think that it does not have a serious side. The reference is not to studies, though it might well be. It is, for example, to rating and dating, where hearts can be broken as well as won.

THE RATING-DATING COMPLEX³

X College is a large state college, located in a small city at some distance from any larger town. There are no industries in the community, no transportation out except by bus, so that the college holds an important place in the life of the town. Almost all students live at the college so that their activities are little influenced by the presence of parents. Students are largely lower middle-class, forming a remarkably homogeneous group. About half live in fraternities, and interfrat competition is very intense.

Dating at the college consists of going to dances, the movies, and campus events, and to frat houses for parties, "necking," and the like. Coeds are permitted in frat parlors if more than one is present, a condition that is easily met. High points of the season are two annual house-parties, certain formal dances, and a few big sports events. An atypical feature of the campus is the unbalanced sex ratio, there being about six boys to every girl, making it necessary to use "imports" for grand occasions, and even then many boys can find no date. The situation also gives every coed a somewhat higher rating on the scale of desirability, although it is not clear that this encourages permanent attachments.

At all times, competition for dates is extremely keen. As in every competitive process, a rating system is evolved. Men at the top of the social scramble may be placed in class A, also the coeds at or near the top. The general rule is for A men to date A women, and devia-

³ Based on Willard Waller, "The Rating and Dating Complex," *American Sociological Review*, 2 (1937), 727-734.

tions when they occur need to be explained. Beneath these top-rating students are as many other classes as one might wish to create for study purposes. The campus is very conscious of this status hierarchy. Students say of a student, "He rates," or "He does not rate," and they extend themselves that they may rate or seem to rate.

To have an *A* rating, men must belong to one of the better frats, be prominent in activities, have spending money, be well dressed, "smooth" in manners, possess a "good line," dance well, and have access to a car. For top-status girls, factors of importance are good clothes, a smooth line, ability to dance well, and general popularity as a date. The last item is by far the most important, the idea being perhaps that nothing succeeds like success. Thus the clever coed will give the impression of being sought after even if she is not. She will never be available for a last-minute date. She will want to go to the best places, whatever the cost, and will not be seen too often with the same boy. If she violates conventions, it will be done in great secrecy, and done as she says with "finesse."

Most incoming freshmen girls tend to have a descending cycle of desirability. At first, they are much sought after and have many dates. Slowly a girl's popularity declines but only to the level which her qualities assure her. Her descent may be hurried by "mistakes," for example, going steady with one boy, by too ready availability for dates, or by indiscretions from which she gets a "rep."

While the normal function of courtship is to induct young people into marriage, the general decay of the moral order has led to many thrill-seeking, exploitive relations. "Wary is the word," writes one student, "that I would apply to the attitude the sexes take toward each other." Men have been warned that certain girls are out to "gold dig" them. Coeds wonder if any man can be trusted, if they are talked about, if they are slipping in popularity. In "bull sessions," intimates will advise intimates on these matters, teasing or scolding them for their conduct. Both men and women come to pretend a ruthlessness toward the opposite sex which they do not really feel, a hardening that does not go deep.

The dating process often inflicts traumatic wounds on sensitive persons, especially on those who stand low in the desirability scale. "While I was at X College," said an alumna, "I had just one date. It was a blind date, arranged by a friend, and we went to the dorm for the girls. After a while, my girl came down and we were introduced. 'Oh,' she said, 'I'm sorry. I forgot my coat. I'll have to go back and get it.' She never came down again and, well, that cooked

me on dating." Many girls elect not to date rather than to take the dates available to them, and some boys are the same way.

How do the "unsuccessful" adjust to the dating system? The steps taken by a group of four girls who were near the bottom in desirability are typical. All four lived off the campus and worked for their room and board. They had little money to spend for clothes so that an intragroup borrowing scheme was arranged. Each girl helped all the other girls in getting dates. All of them accepted last-minute invitations, saving face by being talked into going by some member of the group. The bunch went through dating cycles with several fraternities in the course of the year, starting when one girl got a date and ending when each girl in turn had lost her desirability.

During the winter, the preponderance of men assures to almost every girl considerable popularity. Every summer there is a reversal of this situation. Women school teachers flock to the college, and men become hard to find. Unmarried boys of college age are very scarce, and the result is a great deal of competitive, semiexploitative interaction. Women lend their cars to male friends but continue to pay for the gas. They take the men out to dinner, treat them to drinks, and in still other ways make themselves available on very cheap terms.

While the rating and dating complex varies a great deal from campus to campus, everywhere it is a kind of selective interaction whereby unmarried students sort and sift one another in terms of desirability. "Going steady" is probably more common than at the college described, and true courtship emerges with more regularity. One begins, perhaps, to fall in love, quite unwillingly, after which there come a good many pretense reactions. By pretending to be in love, one invites affection, at which point the relation can move along to an engagement and marriage or else become exploitive. Often a series of crises develop which show to each person the deep feelings of the other, ending the search for a marriage mate. In its crescendo phase, the love relation is so demanding on personality that the student has little time for anything else. His work slacks off, grades fall, until he gets things straightened out.

In searching for one more illustration of college life, as students use the term, we do not know quite what material to use. Student social action comes to mind, a serious business with young people who want to end some ancient evil, to move the world

along. One who knows the South will know that race relations are in process of change, that change takes time, that liberalism can be pushed too far and too fast. These were some learnings of a student action group at Lynchburg College, Virginia, as they moved into the third year of their intercollege student visitation program.

STORM AND AFTERMATH ⁴

At its first meeting of the new year, the committee reviewed its past work and decided that the furtherance of face-to-face contacts between white and Negro college students was its most valued contribution. While other projects were approved, it was agreed to continue emphasis on intercollege visitation. . . .

For one reason or another, other types of interracial study and experience occupied committee time until February. At that time, five Negro students from the state college at Petersburg came to Lynchburg for a two-day conference. These men and women were housed in local dormitories, ate without segregation in the college dining hall, took part after meals in social activities, visited classes, in short moved about the campus as any students would. The committee, and apparently the campus as a whole, felt the visit was a marked success. But here all of us were in error. Proper account had not been taken of an unscheduled event which should never have entered into the two-day program. . . .

This event, as things turned out, caused a great lot of trouble. It occurred at the informal social hour after dinner in the college dining hall. This building served also as a student center where students, before and after meals, read, visited, played records, lounged about and danced. As told by a Lynchburg co-ed, herself a principal participant, here is what happened:

The next I saw of our Negro guests was at lunch. Two ate at our table and everyone seemed to be having fun. The same two ate dinner with us that evening, after which all of us went into the hall and stood around and talked. We walked out to the porch and then returned to watch the Lynchburg students jitterbug. We stood around some more and finally a white girl asked one of the Negro visitors to dance. The other colored student asked me if I cared to dance and I accepted. It was a fast number which I cannot do very well but I was afraid that if I declined he might be offended.

⁴Based on an account (Chap. XIV) in Lloyd Allen Cook (Ed.), *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1950.

That, then, was the incident, and trouble was soon to come. But at the time, and for some days afterward, nothing happened. Petersburg students returned to their campus. Our committee made a study of campus reactions, as it had done after every interracial project or program, and opinion was very favorable so that we began to plan our next event, a trip to Talladega College. It was at this time, a week after the Petersburg visit, that the storm broke. News of the dancing had trickled out into the community, garbled in the telling. One city newspaper carried in bold-type heading a story about "interracial dancing," and publicity continued for several days.

In his statement to the press, the president of the college explained that no social event had been planned for the Petersburg students but that, "during a regular brief period of recreation, five of our students offered injudiciously to dance with the Negro students." He added that the incident was "exceedingly regretted by the college," and then went on to explain the nature and purpose of our committee work. He made it plain that Lynchburg College, a church-related school, was devoted to Christian ideals and a democratic way of life, and that one of its fundamental aims was to further brotherhood in the world.

Of course, all further intercollege visits were canceled. The committee felt that the incident was most unfortunate, that it could not have happened had planning been a little better, and yet the campus was as much pro as it was con in its reactions. Typical of the favorable reactions is the following student statement:

Now that it is all over, I am glad that it happened. I have learned more from this incident about race relations, about people and the mores, than I have learned in years of classroom study. I want now, more even than I did on entering college, to go into the work of furthering brotherhood among men, and race relations are a definite part of this. . . . Come what may, Lynchburg College must still lead. It is a Christian institution and, if we are sincere and have faith, we can march on toward the ideals in which we believe, namely, the right of equals to be treated as equal throughout the United States.

Student action is not, of course, confined to race relations. It takes many different forms, depending on student interest, and it tends to go beyond the customs of the community where the college is found. At Roosevelt College, in Chicago, as an example, students have conducted picketing campaigns against State Street stores that were said to discriminate against Negroes, much as has been done at City College, New York, and Wayne

University in Detroit. Everywhere, student action is something of a headache to college administrators, with policies ranging from repression to a cautious kind of guidance.

THE COLLEGE: AN INTERPRETATION

The campus is a strange world, a world that would repay serious sociological study. While we have had few calls to assist in what could be called an over-all inquiry,⁵ the outline used for delimiting small studies and fitting them together will provide a basis of discussion:

OVER-ALL COLLEGE STUDY

1. Type of college, location, appearances
2. Physical setup, material equipment, plant operation
3. Administrative organization, official rulings
4. Formal groups, membership, purposes, culture
5. Informal groups and *sub rosa*, gossipy cliques
6. Intergroup and interpersonal relations
7. Over-all college spirit, basic integration

In brief comment, no typing of colleges is exact enough for sociological use in, for instance, selecting a known sample of all American colleges. State universities differ from private schools, large universities from small ones, nonresident urban institutions from anything else, colleges in wartimes from normal times. Location makes a big difference, for campus culture is in part a local heritage, reflecting the region about it. In internal integration, colleges are so far apart as to make comparisons hazardous.

A point of emphasis in respect to material equipment, plant layout, etc., is to note that proximity and availability affect human relations. Students who live in a dorm inhabit a different social world from those living at home or scattered about in rooms or boarding-houses. A barracks, thin walls, and crowded living quarters or a "temporary" housing project will create a style of life unlike that seen in the plush units and spacious lounges of pretentious residence halls or in the exclusive bachelor quarters of Ivy League institutions. Even the number and nature of

⁵ Exceptions occur, in the main, in the volume previously cited, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*.

pathways traversing the campus condition associations, and so do student hangouts, coke joints, and drugstores.

Official rulings, the target of so much campus criticism, tend to grow in number as college size increases, resulting in an ever-expanding bureaucratic system. Internal communication becomes difficult, and, invariably, an extensive "grapevine" comes into being, an effort by students and faculty alike (though separately) to determine the conditions of their own existence. This is, we believe, the great tragedy of all large-scale organization, namely, the conflict between its official and unofficial power structure. The clash is not due as much as might be thought to the willful dominance of high-placed persons or to their incompetence, although both can be true. It is, mainly, a consequence of expanded size, the old, old problem of democratic participation in the management of group life. Broad goals exist, to be sure, and so do customary ways of interpreting them, but neither cover fully the crises that arise. On-the-spot decisions must be made—applications, extensions, negations—justice tempered with mercy, mercy in place of justice. On these decisions, the basic culture of the college depends. One is reminded strongly of Michels's⁹ observation that democracy leads to oligarchy, the rule of the few over the many.

To study the formal groupings of a campus would be, in itself, a big order. Beneath these known and approved structures one will find a network of informal relations, the intimate clique ties that bind together (and pull apart) the interacting social system. In any study, the collection of member lists, scanning of charters, attendance at meetings is just the beginning of inquiry. Insight comes as one digs into the deeper values of these organizations, student likes and dislikes, time uses, emotional involvements, and loyalty problems. Here is the inevitable prestige system, a tremendous pressure to secure top rating, to succeed, to be a big shot on the campus. Here, too, are many complexities, paradoxes that at first baffle inquiry. For example, girls who win popularity contests may be the most unpopular on the campus.

Campus groups, formal or informal, perform a valuable college

⁹ Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, Hearst's International Library, New York, 1915.

service. They are the bearers of tradition, carriers of customs whose origins have long since been forgotten. They are the *socializers of students*, rubbing off rough edges, teaching them to eat, to dress, to converse. They teach habits of study or their lack, good manners and good conduct, sportsmanship or its opposite. More than anything else, the groups to which one belongs show him what it means to be a college man or woman.

An important clue to campus culture involves the belongings of students.⁷ One can, for instance, observe the content of student rooms—decorations, sentimental objects, personal clothing, study arrangements, recreational equipment, and so on. Are material things gimcracks, cheap and gaudy, or do they reveal taste? What more do they show regarding their owner—his economic circumstance, family backgrounds, activity interests, work and play habits, the motivations of his life? To carry such an inquiry to the point where generalization is possible, it would be necessary to make property inventories, to collect data on income and expenditures, to interview students and gather life-history materials.

Much of student socialization takes place in small informal groupings of perhaps three to seven members. These groups are the nearest equivalent to a family that a college environment affords, meeting intimacy and security needs. For freshmen in particular, informal groups tend to cushion the shock of separation from parents and high-school friends. On the negative side, such associations may be so close that personality is narrowly shaped, even distorted. Instead of a wide range of campus models, a variety of social types, students may pattern on a limited few. These few may be of good character or bad, transmitting petty vices as well as solid virtues.

Intergroup relations are seen in many phases of college life. For instance, we can think of no realistic study of what students call campus politics. What does it mean to "get out the vote" in college elections? How does the process work from the inside? If, as some wag has said, everyone is born a politician but some of us outgrow it, why has this not happened to students whom

⁷ Edward Y. Hartshorne, "Undergraduate Society and College Culture," *American Sociological Review*, 8 (1943), 312-332.

one could name? What are their goals, their rewards, and learnings? Or take a contrasting area, the field of race, creed, and the like. Are these factors made a basis for organizing the campus? For example, to what extent do they condition participation in social activities?

At one extreme, college spirit is the devil-may-care action of youth. At the opposite pole, it comprises the codes and loyalties by which a college lives and has its being. It is an evidence of campus integration, a way of expressing community unity-disunity. Until a college culture integrates itself into a consistent, cohesive pattern and its core values become the behavioral norms of the entire campus, students will feel in opposition to many things—to official “red tape” and routine, to cafeteria food, to faculty viewpoints, to all students who compete for official rewards and honors. At some colleges, disintegration becomes the established pattern. Nothing seems to make much sense, to fit together. “Rules of the game” are not rules because they are not followed. Lines of authority are unclear, decisions are arbitrary, sharp corners and “angles” are common, petty jealousies abound, and after periods of laxity comes an indiscriminate “cracking down.” At all times, there is defiance by nonconforming persons, a standard practice of “getting by” with as much as possible. Apparently, human relations must get worse before they can be made better, with change dating from a crisis of some kind.

COLLEGE AND COMMUNITY

No matter how high any college may sit on its hilltop, it lives in an interactive relation with the environing social order. Whatever the state of a nation may be, its poverty and wealth, good times and bad, students bring these backgrounds to school with them. During their years at college, they spend part time in the local community and travel back and forth to their homes. At all times, they are representatives of the college, telling their parents, their friends, townspeople in general, what the place is like, how its life goes on. In the years after graduation they associate with classmates, often laying in college the groundwork for professional and social careers.

In small primary communities, town-and-gown relations can be studied in various ways—the purchasing power of the student body, student leisure pursuits, part-time employment, faculty participation in town affairs, the attitudes of ministers, police, and others toward student behaviors, the reactions of the community to students belonging to minority groups.

In large urban places, colleges appear at times to be lost in the din of traffic, the passing crowds, the high-tension living, the lack of a campus to mark a separation from the city proper. Noise is everywhere, flowing in waves through doors and windows, taking its toll of any concentrated effort. On the asset side, if the great city is the center of modern living, the book of life and of education lies just outside college walls. Here are the problems that people face, the conditions to which schools must help in finding the answer.

STUDENT ASSIMILATION

To the student, college is a learning experience, a process of assimilating campus culture. Judging from life-history data, few students ever undergo serious traumatic shock. Their absorption of college ways is so gradual, so uneventful, as to leave no tight memory chain. Most personal papers, while revealing, show many missing links, much that is not comprehended by their authors. Some students skip over anything unconventional; others write to create an impression, perhaps distorting facts. They may project present roles backward, imagining that life has always been as it now seems to be—popular, successful, and fairly unique.

While no life-history can be typical, the sample given shows experiences and attitudes which are common to one student type. This boy, a Senior in a state teachers college, came from a near lower class home in a city of average size. He has felt since childhood the deprivations of poverty, the unquenchable thirst—not for knowledge—but for success.

COLLEGE EXPERIENCES

I am the oldest of five children. My father is a salesman, in the money at times and at times broke. We have lived in Y-city for eight

years, and I finished high school there. I came in by train from a little town where we were then living, having had two years of high school there. As a junior, I was greatly behind other students in my knowledge. . . . The Latin teacher, a Miss C—— whom I remember very well, asked me to read a few lines in Cicero, after which she said I should go back to Caesar. Well, back in sophomore year, there had been only two of us taking Caesar. Every day we studied together, agreeing on the translation, after which we recited from our notes. Our teacher, who was also the school principal, knew almost no Latin, so that we learned very little.

At Y-city high school, I learned one thing that has really shaped my life. Well, maybe I had already learned it before that. I learned that to get ahead, or just to live, you have to fight, fight, fight. For example, in our little two-year high school, we did have an outdoor basketball court. We played the year around, clearing off snow in winter, so that I got pretty sharp. At Y-city, I made the first team and began to star in the big games. This did a lot for me in the school, got me known and all of that. I began to run around with all the top crowd, few of whom were athletes, and I learned to dance. I saw that you have to have clothes and money and a home where you can entertain. To get these, you must fight and keep on fighting, for that is the way things are. . . .

It was funny how I ever came to go to college. I had graduated and was working as a clerk (\$8 per week) in a hardware store when Coach T—— came in to see me. He told me who he was and said he just happened to be in town and had dropped in. He asked if I didn't want to go to college and play basketball and I said yes, if I could make a living. He said they had a scholarship for me and told me about jobs that I could get, so I took him up. In these four years at college, I have washed dishes for my meals, waited tables, fired furnaces, collected laundry, worked in a bank, even peddled some packaged goods that college students craved. . . . Anything to stay on at school, and I'd say to anyone that going to college is worth all the trouble it costs.

Well, now, to return to my story. I didn't ask my folks could I go to college. I told them and they thought I was crazy. What would I eat? Where would I get money? With my two hands, I said, thinking of athletics. Dad made some crack and ma looked out the window. That night she said maybe it would be a good thing for me to get away, to make something of myself, and I think she cried a little. Anyhow, I knew I'd get along, I'd crack that college just like

I did high school. . . . I tried to dream up what college would be like, the good times, the pretty girls, the yelling of the crowds. Right here I might say that these dreams didn't work out. I had my big chance and muffed it but I'll come to that.

Anyhow, I didn't know what college would be like but what the coach said sounded pretty good. I didn't have any packing to do, just my best suit and some work clothes, and I didn't have anybody much to tell goodbye. I came in ahead of school and went to work sorting equipment and the like. And then football started and the sessions were pretty rough. . . . I got knocked over so much that I was black and blue and then, one day, I really loused things up. I had hit a guy pretty hard in a tackle and I knew he would be laying for me. Sure enough, he caught me in the air, coming in from behind, and laid me out cold. When I woke up, I had a broken wrist, nothing much except that it finished my athletic career. It wouldn't knit and wouldn't knit, and when it did my wrist was stiff. I was through, although the coach let me tinker around. . . . I could have made the squad but I turned in my suit and quit. I showed up later for basketball but it was no use. . . . Two big shot specialists examined my wrist. Both said it would have to be reset and they did not guarantee results.

This was the time, toward the end of that first year, when I really didn't know what to do. All my dreams had gone up in smoke. I was broke, always broke, eating from day to day, scrounging this and that. I thought of the life I would have had at home, the fellows I knew, the pro team we were going to organize. I wished I had never come to college. . . . I didn't belong here, and kept wondering if I should go home. . . .

My one luxury at that time, when I could afford it, was a bottle or two of beer. Well, here I was this Saturday night by myself, for it takes money to date college girls. I was on my second at a local tavern when who should come over and sit down but "Prof" M——, an old bachelor and a character if ever there was one. I had him in a "lit" course, liked him swell, and knew he had been fishing around to see what had put me down. Said he'd had some news about my breaking a wrist. It had happened some months ago and so I said, yes, news does get around. Well, his next crack made me good and sore, about who did I think I was to mope about a thing like that. What if I'd stubbed my toe and fractured an ankle so that I couldn't walk, or got polio or T.B.? Now, that would be something! I let him have it straight about college being no place for me and he came

right back. He said that was why there was a college, for guys like me, coming from nowhere but on the way to something. He said, we do get some sissies now and then, some guys who ought to be in skirts. I didn't want to argue with him, so I left and went home.

I couldn't sleep that night for thinking things over. Why should I let my bad luck get me down? Why let anything push me around? Two hands, two feet, a brain . . . that was it, the brain. I had forgotten about having a brain to think with, about making use of it. College students had not impressed me much—fluff, yammer, baggy pants, no backbone, fun. But somewhere, there must be students with brains. What was their slant on college, what were they trying to pull off? I found out . . . and when I did, I went, personally, to apologize to the “prof,” and we talked most of the night.

Well, I turned a new leaf in my book. First off, I got myself set as student manager of the football team for the coming year. Next, I looked into jobs, picking finally the agency for a local laundry. I got the job when I showed the boss how college business could be doubled by appointing collectors in every frat, sorority and boarding house. I split the take 50-50 with these agents, netting me a good amount. This was how I got an inside look at college frats, and through the guys working with me, and I joined the one that looked the best. I did it, I guess, to help me with the “rep” I was building but they turned out to be a grand gang. . . .

For the long-run shot, I followed the old “prof’s” advice and settled down to books. I chose the social studies as my teaching field, feeling that this field has a future. I have made a B average since I declared my major, in fact I have read everything I could find. One teacher I want to mention has given me a lot of time, talked with me a lot and loaned me books to read. He says now that I should teach two years in high school and then go to a good graduate school for more education. That would put me in line for a college job and I would like that.

I see now that I have forgotten a great deal of my story so I will go back. I never had much upbringing, never learned manners and the like. One girl in my sophomore year told me off quite proper. We were on a picnic, maybe three or four couples, and were eating lunch. All the guys were carrying on and I guess something made her mad. She said I ate like a pig, that it was disgusting, that I was just a big slob, anyhow, and she was going home. That hit me hard, but I didn't argue for I had a sneaky feeling that she was right. After this bawling out, I began to do something about all of that—my habits,

my clothes, talking right, and so on. I took another look at the college crowd, the top rating gang, and I turned another leaf in my book. I confess now that I aped them a great deal. . . .

It comes to me now that I have changed a whole lot, maybe more than I think. For instance, I go back home and my old friends are not the same. I think I have changed, not the kids I knew, for mostly they are working in the same jobs, living in the same old way. I speak in the past tense for my hometown friends are not close; my real friends are here at college. While my mother and my brothers and sisters are still dear to me, the things they do are definitely lower class. I don't know of any way to break out of a life like that other than to go to college. I will be able next year, in my first teaching job, to help my oldest brother make his start here in this same school. . . .

Things are pretty good right now, not perfect but all right. . . . I have been sending some money home for the family, so of course I have nothing saved. I am sure of a good job in teaching and I know that I will get ahead. . . . I am Senior Class president as you know, and socially, I mix with all the crowds we have here. . . . I went steady with a girl who graduated at midyear. It was the real thing for both of us but I won't go into that. We will get married as soon as we get a little money saved, maybe at Christmas next year.

What this case suggests, first of all, is a general pattern of assimilation, a sequence starting with the decision to enter college. While the process varies somewhat, its general outline seems fairly clear.

In the beginning, there is a period of uncertainty, of breaking home ties, of moving into a going system, a complex college world. Usually, this period is etched in romantic tints, the daydreaming mentioned in the life-history. For some reason or other, things may not start off well at college. Aspirations may be too high, and disillusionment results. This may be light and transitory, in fact it tends to be, or it can lead to chronic unrest and despondency. For typical students, the next stage is one of facing facts and making readjustments, of projecting a workable plan. Now comes what sociologists call accommodation, an absorption of the more external features of college life, followed by assimilation, changes in the more basic aspects of personality. In the case given, it could be argued that changes were mostly accommodative, that is, alterations in social type. The core of per-

sonality, the deeper strengths and motivations remained unchanged.

CONTRASTING STUDENT TYPES

From almost any viewpoint, the campus world would appear to have a number of "problem students." In terms of learning behaviors, there is much to warrant a division of all students into three types. One is the "conscientious, or rigid," student, another the "temperamental, or scattered," student,⁸ and the third, the average student, who falls between the two extremes.

The *conscientious, rigid student* seems, at first glance, a model student, all that any teacher could desire. These young people are ambitious and idealistic, hard-working, meticulous and responsible. They are very sensitive to teacher approval, to praise or blame. They love rules, hints on how to study, advice about note taking and time uses, and what is important in a course. They like assignments that are "definite," work tasks that can be mastered by dogged effort. In their campus life, their tastes are good, their style of living very conventional, their personal habits above reproach. Their friendships are always right and proper.

In still other ways, these students are ideal, or nearly so. For example, they can be counted upon to meet college requirements, to receive a degree, and yet, as curious as it may sound, they do not seem to learn much about living. They do not develop spontaneous interests, enthusiasms that sweep them along. They do not take charge, as it were, of their own education, get inside their experiences, make learning truly their own. They are unable to do creative thinking, to organize complex data, to put together pieces of any genuine puzzle. They live, by and large, under a sense of strain, of competitive struggle and controlled anxiety. They are ill at ease in undefined situations, stiff in bodily posture, often speechless until someone takes a line. In contacts with their teachers, they are always pleasant and co-operative, at times obsequious.

By contrast, the *temperamental, scattered student* presents a more difficult problem of description. As a rule, this person

⁸ From Ruth L. Monroe, *Teaching the Individual*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1942.

promises much but seems to achieve little. These students are talented, at times far beyond the average, and are intelligent and creative. All they appear to need is a little "discipline"; yet they seldom become outstanding except as problem students. In course after course, the same process repeats itself—high initial performance, flashes of insight, periods of intense industry, a contagious enthusiasm. Soon, these students will fizzle. They may cut class, quit the course, go off on some visit, find some new interest, be dropped from college, drift about in search of a sheepskin.

It cannot be denied that such students appeal greatly to their teachers. If their high-school record is poor or their stay in some other college "very sad," they have, so they aver, been misunderstood and mistreated. What they want now is a chance, just "an average chance." Any query about their own life unleashes a flood of feeling. While they may never produce an organized experience paper, they write in the grand manner. They write with streaks of insight and humor, talk about themselves with no thought of making a good impression. They name their faults as well as their virtues, all with amazing frankness. Quite often they are carried away with their subject, *i.e.*, themselves, and so is the teacher. The imagery in these papers is vivid and varied. Life, it would appear, has been a series of dramatic ups and downs, a great personal adventure. These students overdo, to be sure; yet a course of study can mean a lot to them. It becomes woven into the fabric of their being, the very core of personality.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the scattered, temperamental student is his personal approach to living. His problems are all important, and he pushes them forward for discussion. Unlike the rigid student, he puts complete trust in his own feelings, his likes and dislikes and inclinations. This makes those students very uncertain learners. For example, instead of adding fact to fact to reach a conclusion, they smother bookish facts in personal implications. When classroom ideas go beyond their limited frames of reference, these learners lose interest. A course becomes "academic," and they sit, passive and moody, catching fire again when some idea strikes their fancy.

The personality structure of the first type of student, the con-

scientious, is not easy to interpret. They seem, as was said, model students. They have self-discipline, objectivity, the urge to learn. Over long observation, however, it has not seemed to us that their focus is on self-expression, on deeper, richer interpretations of personal living. Their great concern is to keep safe in a changing world, to reduce the hazards of living, and increase its securities. Put more sharply, their drive is a status drive, the urge to get ahead, to do well, to be successful. To themselves, they seem to say: we have a role to play, a part to carry through. They dance and swim and attend musicals; they run clubs and activities, all because it is the thing to do, a mark of ability and popularity. Every new adventure is an exercise in social adjustment, an opportunity to further a defined career.

It is evident that this student type is dependent on the social climate. Attitudes and behaviors are good if the audience applauds; they are bad by a counter verdict. Personal security does not come from within but from outside, in the approval of others. Even their classroom performance supports this viewpoint. Its most obvious characteristic is that these students work hard, get their lessons, and make good grades; yet their learning does not seem to carry over. In the next course, they are at first bewildered, often seeking special help. And yet, as in their past work, when they learn what is wanted, they dig in and do well. One must conclude that their intellectual growth is in part spurious, in part real. What they learn without doubt is how to please a teacher. They pick up his language, his ideas, even his work habits. Seeing them at their worst at the beginning of a semester, a teacher will marvel as time goes on at their intellectual progress. "I have done," he says in effect, "a good teaching job." In rewarding them, he rewards himself.

Our purpose in all of this has not been to criticize student types, for both have their good points. It has been to describe a situation that can be verified and to point an interpretation toward the ways of life from which these persons come. In respect to the conscientious student, there is cumulative evidence to suggest that he or she comes from a near middle class home. The home certainly is off the economic floor of poverty and insecurity; yet the family has not arrived at an assured superior

status. The student represents the "striving class," the ambitious, improving class discussed in past chapters. His culture pattern frowns on spontaneity; it chastises the social deviant. It teaches youth to conform and to achieve, to be refined, efficient, and hard-working. This is why the personality grows rigid, why it feels lost in a world of unpredictable change. Such students can graduate and enter teaching without any basic personality alteration.

IMPROVING CAMPUS LEARNING

In spite of a counter opinion, the college students we know best are not disinterested in learning. They want to make their years at college mean more, to get all their money, time, and effort can buy. In rethinking this problem, it is obvious that the usual "freshman week" or "orientation course" is not an adequate introduction to the social system we have discussed. Acquaintance with buildings, with deans and professors, with student services and the like, plus placement and other tests, are good, to be sure, but not enough. To leave further learning to chance, to try to pick it up on the run, is to underestimate the importance of the campus in an educational sense.

The first apparent need is to help all students come fully awake, the point Park made so well in an early chapter. We do not know how this happens, how it can be brought about, but at moments in one's life it does occur. To any alerted student, we would suggest thought on several things, each more meaningful than may seem at first glance. Only in a physical sense can anybody hurt another person. No one can inflict "mental pain" or "social insult," although we can do this ourselves. What we love and hate in people are *the things they stimulate in us*, things we feel and do and think. Many different growth potentials are resident in every individual, hence subject to an extent to his own control.

At college and elsewhere, one lives always a kind of double life, a life "in the heart" and "in public." To plunge headlong into the first is to escape reality by flights of fantasy and daydreaming, a satisfactory existence for only a very few. To leap fully in the other direction, to be dependent at every turn on the arched

eyebrow, the shrug or spoken word of other persons, is to stop living as fully human, to abandon all semblance of freedom in a psychological sense. A mature person must reconcile these aspects of his life, bring them into a harmonious relationship. His growth toward maturity is marked by the feeling-thought-action conflicts he has resolved.

Self-control, or purposive growth, or motivated learning, whatever it should be called, cannot go on in a vacuum. It takes people, people in interaction, and it is here that college students are fortunate. On the campus and in classrooms, they contact more people, and more different kinds of people, than they might ever see in many years of routine job-holding work. A liberal education in human relations, in what people are like, how people treat people, is about them for the taking. In truth it would be hard to find a better school for personality development than the campus offers. The aims of the chapter have been to explore this world, to revalue its social worth and contributions.

NEED FOR FACULTY GUIDANCE

All that has been said will fall short of its purpose unless, in a sociological sense, it can be institutionalized. Time and again, in conference with students, they will say, "But why didn't somebody tell me," or "Gosh, prof, you see I don't have much time left." While we feel in complete sympathy with the work of the deans' offices, with the wave of guidance sweeping the academic world, we like to think of every faculty member as a guidance worker.

Of all that happens about a college, nothing lends itself quite so well to caricature as the efforts made by some administrative officers to control student activities. Fortunately, the day is passing when students were treated as infants; yet evidences of ineffective practices still remain.

THE FORCE METHOD OF CONTROL

Toward the end of my first year of teaching at this college, the dean of women persuaded the president to appoint a faculty committee on student dances. To my surprise, I was named chairman. Since it was too late to do much work, we met and outlined a plan which would interest student leaders in conduct problems.

Came the opening of school that fall and the dean called a meeting of the committee. When asked what had been done, we started to report our plan but the dean objected. Cheek-to-cheek dancing and short skirts, we were told, were the No. 1 and 2 problems. The first college dance was that Saturday night and she asked that we stop both practices. After further instruction from her as to how that could be done, we went forth to do our duty.

Every committee member attended the dance. Half of us broke up cheek-to-cheek dancing by a word to the couples, as per the dean's orders, punishing repeated offenders by making them stop dancing. The other half came prepared to measure the length of any doubtful looking skirt, quite the most exciting research on which I have ever worked. It should be added that this was done in utter solemnity, again as per the dean's instructions.

How did it all come out? Well, how do students react to any such force methods? Short skirts and close dancing spread like wildfire on the campus. The committee renewed its efforts, with the dean leading the fight in person, but still these practices continued. And then some of us held a secret meeting with campus leaders, compared notes, had a good laugh, and decided to end the battle, since its fun was wearing off.

But the joke was on us, finally. The "grapevine" runs everywhere on a small campus so that news of our meeting got around. On the next Saturday night, there was not a single offending student, much to the dean's surprise and gratification. What did she do but call a special committee meeting on Monday afternoon and compliment us (and herself) on "our vigorous and successful action." No one had the courage, I guess, or the desire, to tell her how inept her methods were, or what had really happened. Our plan had backfired, reenforcing the dean in her outmoded notions.

External, imposed controls need no particular comment. Their limitations are apparent in comparison with another approach to student campus problems.

TOWARD INTERCREEDAL UNDERSTANDINGS

It was registration day, and a double line of students was passing an outer desk where each was handed a card. Curious about this card, a professor assisting with registration found that it contained a jagged, bloody picture of "the head of Christ," plus an invitation to attend a student meeting of "Fundamentalists."

At this meeting, the professor was impressed with the group's faith in their fundamentalist creed, in their attacks on Catholics and Jews, in their announced aim "to clean up the campus and the town," and in their urgent bid for student converts. The group had no affiliation with any outside organization and enjoyed the freedom of expression accorded all students.

Presently, the professor had an invitation to address this student group. Instead of a speech, he proposed a "talk session." What were some of their beliefs? Did they believe in one God? Did they believe in life after death? Did they believe in the Ten Commandments? Were good thoughts best expressed in good deeds? Had they ever visited a Jewish synagogue or a Catholic church? Were any of their close friends Jews or Catholics? Disturbed by what he found out, he decided to talk to the college Committee on Intergroup Relations, who talked in turn with the dean of men.

Within a short time, a call was issued to all student religious leaders to meet in the dean's office. They were not invited to represent their organizations, nor was anything said about religion. The college, it seemed, was interested in student services to the community. Since there was no student service organization, could such a club or council, with a speakers' bureau, be set up by the students and run by them?

The idea took hold at once, and, for the first time, campus religious leaders were united by a serious common cause. As personal contacts increased, student friendships developed, and presently, individual students began to swap creedal points of view and talk over organizational problems. Meantime, needing a sponsor, they invited the professor who, unknown to them, had started this integrative action, to fill that office. By the end of the year, they had greatly extended their community services, and, more to the point, they were discussing in their meetings the common problems and closer unity of all religious faiths on the campus.

The guidance of students will always be a problem, a learning experience for all participants; yet no thoughtful college teacher would want or expect it to be any other way. While neither the mechanics nor the content of college guidance can be discussed here, we know of no better approach to campus group problems than to find the natural leaders of students and to try to lead through them.

Problems and Projects

1. What, after all, is the fun for spectators in college football? Analyze football in terms of college culture, the we-group feeling of the school, the focal center of campus community life.

2. Report in class on Janet Agnes Kelley, *College Life and the Mores*, Chap. II, "The College as a Culture Matrix," Chap. VI, "Role of Groups in Campus Mores" (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1949).

3. Write a paper describing the "rating and dating complex" on the campus as you have observed it. Use fictitious names, and discuss frankly the kinds of behaviors that go on.

4. Appoint a class committee to make a study of campus popularity, half the committee to deal with men and half with girls. Show how high status is gained on either side of the line and how status can be lost.

5. Compare with present campus practices the situation described by Clifford Kirkpatrick and Theodore Caplow, "Courtship in a Group of Minnesota Students," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51 (1945), 114-125.

6. State your reaction to the Lynchburg College race-relations case. Can you match this incident with some other kind of "storm and aftermath" from your own campus experiences?

7. Select some one aspect of the over-all plan of college study given in the chapter. Make a quick survey on your own campus, and report your observations to class.

8. Assuming every college administrative system is a kind of bureaucracy, read Philip Selznick, "An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy," *American Sociological Review*, 8 (1943), 47-54. How well does this theory fit the college you know best?

9. Assess the influences of campus groups and activities on your own personality development. Do you feel you have changed a whole lot or only a little since coming to college, for the better or for the worse?

10. Have you observed the "conscientious, rigid" student and the "temperamental, scattered" student? Add what you can to the description of these student types. What is your explanation of how each got that way?

11. Suppose now you were instructing a freshman at the start of his or her college career on how to make the most of his campus opportunities. Prepare a paper to hand in which will show exactly what you would be most likely to say.

12. Various colleges have developed extensive group-work programs for the guidance of students in campus living. Report on one of these in class, for example, Louise Price, *Creative Group Work on the Campus* (Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri), Contributions to Education No. 830 (Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1941).

13. Have you ever heard a college dean, perhaps a dean of women, start the new year by saying to a thousand or more students in assembly: "Now, here at X College, we are all one big happy family. We live together, work together, play together. We do not keep secrets from one another. We share the same sorrows, same joys, etc., etc." What now would you like to tell this dean about the nature of college campus life and problems?

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CHAPTER 20

DEVELOPING TEACHER-LEADER SKILLS

Not many years ago, the school psychologist was all but unknown. One who used the term might well expect to make an explanation. Today, these services are well-nigh indispensable. Much the same will happen, we believe, to the *school sociologist* as demand and supply interact. As the latter's role becomes better known, as he applies his skills and improves them, he will find an important place in the teacher-training and field-work picture. It is for this reason, and in line with current trends, that this book has been given a job-centered orientation. It is within this context that the volume will make its concluding remarks.

In the total field covered in this text, we are inclined now to stress the development of teacher-leader skills. This emphasis comes in part from field-work experiences and in part from the needs expressed by school heads for teachers with "know how," the ability to do. Our faith in group study-action methods is the faith affirmed by Dewey when he speaks of "a steadily growing number of persons who find security in methods of inquiry, of observation and experiment. Such persons are not unsettled by the upsetting of any special belief because they retain the security of procedure."

Of course, *method* in itself is not enough. It must be accompanied by, in fact is dependent upon, *knowledge* of people in their social relations and a *concern* for their well-being and advancement. Were a fourth factor of prime value to be named, it would be judgment—*good judgment* in uniting the other factors in application to concrete situations. A course review should include these minimal centers of interest, preferably in relation to the actual work of the school sociologist.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

In 1900, there was much interest in developing a new college discipline to be called educational sociology.¹ By 1914, at least 20 pace-setting universities were giving courses in this field, and, within a decade, the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology was organized. It met with both the American Sociological Society and the Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association. After issuing three year-books, the NSSES discontinued the practice owing to lack of funds, and the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, founded in 1927, became the official organ of the society. On the demise of NSSES shortly after this date, educational sociologists met as a section of the American Sociological Society until 1948 when the section was abandoned. Educators have carried their interest in sociology into various professional associations but there is no independent educational sociology group.

In addition to sensing the history of the field, students will find these facts of interest because they throw light on the marginal status of educational sociology as a college discipline. The problem has been to find enough in common between educators and sociologists to hold them together in a productive unity.

There have been many answers over time to the unity problem; in fact every textbook in educational sociology can be so regarded. Some books have dealt with a philosophy of education, the functions of schools in contemporary life, and others with a general science of society. Some have traced the history of education in relation to a changing social order, and others have centered on current social problems. Some have studied the school as a basic institution, relating it to other institutions, and others have focused on child socialization, usually in reference to community backgrounds. Some texts are simply introductory sociology books, with no particular application to education. Others are a rehash of educational interests, containing little or no sociological material.

The conclusion that seems most plausible is that "educational

¹ For a review and appraisal, see W. B. Brookover, "Sociology of Education: A Definition," *American Sociological Review* (June, 1949), 407-415.

sociology is still whatever it is said to be.”² It is what college teachers of the subject define it as being, a situation that will change only as consumers of the college product, chiefly the public schools, make known the kinds of teacher training they most need. It seems clear that the educational sociology of the future, judging from present demands, will show in some form or other the applications of sociological knowledge and technique to the social life and newer service functions of the school.

FUNCTIONS OF THE SCHOOL SOCIOLOGIST

On what kinds of problems does the school sociologist work? The most general answer is on human problems, *the problems of society as they impinge upon the school*. For meaning here, we cannot improve on the summary statement in Chap. 1. Social problems involve food, clothing, and shelter. They involve less tangible interpersonal and intergroup relations, for example, class biases, delinquency prevention, and community coordination. It has not been our aim to canvass the social problems of our times but rather to indicate the way the school sociologist would work on any such problem. He is, first of all, a sociologist; hence his points of departure will be found in that field, somewhat as illustrated in Fig. 1.

By his focus on human problems, the school sociologist rules *in* matters of concern to him and rules *out* many other issues of equal urgency. In both teaching and field work, he makes use of whatever he may know to effect changes in people. He is, in basic training, a social scientist; yet he has a philosophy of democratic action, the viewpoint of a “scientific humanist” if the label will do. Like other scientists, he searches for truth, the way things work and how they can be made to work better, to yield more positive returns for all people. In any exact reckoning, his successes are few, his failures many, for real problems are hard to solve.

In general, the school sociologist would appear to have functions comparable to those of any academic person. One is the *classroom teaching function*, the purposes of which are two. The

² Lloyd Allen Cook, “Educational Sociology,” *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, Rev. ed., 1950.

first, a service to all teachers, is to develop the human-relations slant on classroom, school, and community problems. The next is the training of specialists in the educational-sociology field. The service function to all college areas will consume by far the greater amount of a college instructor's time, so much so that he may find it difficult to train majors in his special field. The school and community work these majors should be prepared to do as they enter teaching and school administration would appear to fall into five large areas:

SERVICE FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOL TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS
TRAINED IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

1. Teaching such courses as problems of democracy, citizenship, social problems, social civics, family life, community study, consumers' economics, safety education, high-school sociology
2. Making studies of school children, their home backgrounds, leisure pursuits, vocational interests, group life, social attitudes, life-related needs and problems
3. Studying the school as a social system, a network of interrelated groups, friendship patterns, teacher-pupil and interstaff relations, unity-disunity problems
4. Working with school and community groups on social-service and group-action projects; application of group-work techniques in guiding small and large group action; evaluation of effects
5. The inservice education of the school staff, professional growth, public relations, experimental learning projects

Dreams of every high-school pupil taking at least one course in high-school sociology die hard among sociologists, but this is not the way the curriculum has been trending. In 1945, in a report to the American Sociological Society it was pointed out that (1) there has never been much sociology taught *under that title* at any grade or high-school level; (2) the amount today is less than formerly; (3) few curriculum makers advocate the teaching of sociology as such; (4) the most promising entree for sociology in the nation's schools is under other titles as parts and emphases in other courses, notably composite courses such as problems of democracy.³

³ Lloyd Allen Cook *et al.*, "Report of the Committee on Sociology in Secondary Schools," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (1945), 74-75.

As we write, there comes to hand a bulletin from the U.S. Office of Education, showing that sociology can barely squeeze into the social-studies listing.* Inspection of Table 20 will re-

TABLE 20. ENROLLMENT TRENDS IN SOCIAL STUDIES, GRADES 7 AND 8, AND IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL *

Offering	Percentage distribution of pupil-semesters			
	Grades 7 and 8		Last 4 years of high school	
	1933-1934	1946-1947	1933-1934	1946-1947
All social studies	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
United States history	33.7	53.3	24.8	33.8
World history	2.5	6.3	17.7	19.3
Civics, citizenship	8.5	10.1	12.1	14.1
Government, civics .....	....	....	6.0	5.4
Problems of democracy .....	....	....	4.4	4.3
Geography	29.0	15.6	2.5	4.3
Modern history .....	....	....	2.7	3.6
Social science	21.0	10.1	3.6	3.2
Economics, economic problems ....	....	....	4.4	2.7
Sociology, social problems .....	....	....	2.2	1.7
State history	0.3	3.8	0.4	1.5
Ancient and medieval history .....	....	....	14.8	1.3
Occupations .....	....	....	3.2	0.9
International relations .....	....	....	0.1	0.4
Others	5.0	0.8	1.2	3.6

* From Howard R. Anderson, *Teaching of United States History in Public High Schools*, Bulletin 7, p. 6, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., 1949.

veal no sociology as such in the upper grades and a substantial loss in popularity in high school over the past 13 years. Findings are based on a study of over 3.5 million pupils so that there can be no question of their reliability.

The point to be stressed, and it is one of two comments to be made on high-school teachers of sociological courses, is that a tremendous amount of sociology is coming into the nation's

* Howard R. Anderson, *Teaching of United States History in Public High Schools*, Bulletin 7, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., 1949.

schools but under other titles. Teacher after teacher is teaching sociology who may never have heard of the name. It is unfortunate, we believe, that all teachers have not had one or more sociological courses in college; yet sociologists have much to feel encouraged over.

The second comment is that the high-school-teacher functions as listed above assume a fifth year of teacher training, *i.e.*, an M.A. degree. Much could be done at the undergraduate level if educational sociology were felt to be of basic importance in teacher education, a condition that does not now widely prevail. A score of large colleges and universities are exceptions, suggesting possibly the beginnings of a trend, but that remains to be seen. If educational sociology is to thrive, it will be because it is valued in colleges and departments of education since courses by that title seldom receive large enrollments in departments of sociology.⁵

If the first function of an educational sociologist is teacher training, the second is *consultant services* to schools, colleges, and communities. Field work takes many forms, sets many problems, as cases in the volume have suggested. We know of no easy way to summarize, no conclusion that might include the experiences of all school sociologists. In checking files, it seems that most calls have come for help on curriculum problems, the development of some kind of life-centered learning, use of local resources, and the like. Next are invitations to work with school-community groups, usually on school-service projects such as home and school cooperation and delinquency prevention. Third are problems involving school and community coordination, for example, the organization of a community council, and fourth, staff relations in the school.

The third function, *professional study and research*, is also a responsibility of all college teachers. Colleges and universities exist, not only to diffuse knowledge, but to advance it in every field of thought, including teacher education. We have seen faculty members, in fact whole faculties, so caught up in routine service projects, so engaged in expanding enrollments that their

⁵ Cf. Raymond Kennedy and Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Sociology in American Colleges," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (1942), 661-675.

creative work fell off to nothing, their research interests disappeared. If one thinks about it, there are only two basic social techniques by which a nation can advance its general welfare, improve its mode of life. One is by repression of injustices, the righting of wrongs through court action and the like. The other is to further understanding, and this is the educational road. Since knowledge is basic to understanding, it follows that colleges should quest far and wide in its pursuit.

A REVIEW OF THE COURSE

A course of study is far more than a book; hence the above title is a misnomer. Moreover, students like to conduct reviews in their own way, these ways being vastly different. An author's contribution, therefore, is very limited, being confined largely to suggesting the kinds of learnings the volume was intended to further.

One big cluster of learnings centers on *knowledge*, the data and insights one needs to have in order to work with people. One kind of knowledge consists of facts, each an exact expression of what exists or has happened. Another is concepts, the names given to objects and conditions, and a third, principles, the rules that describe how things behave and are interrelated. The second large cluster of learnings involves *values*, the moral-ethical judgments of worth, need, and use from which one approaches any task, such as teaching or writing. Finally, there are *technique* learnings, the kinds of methods found effective in group problem-solving work.

In a study of a thousand-odd questions which undergraduates turned in for their own examination in a course using the chapters of this book, a full three-fifths dealt with knowledge, a fifth with value orientations, with the remainder divided between techniques and irrelevant matters. When this same type of study was made of an equal number of questions by graduate students, it was found that almost three-fifths of their queries dealt with techniques, that is, were of the "how do you do it" kind. A fifth were on values, *i.e.*, what to do, why, etc., and almost a fifth on knowledge, with few questions that were wholly irrelevant.

In respect to content in each course area, most knowledge questions related to the nation's several kinds of communities, their change and unity problems. Next came questions on social class, child socialization, school-community coordination, and so on. Value queries peaked at two centers, the worth of educational sociology in solving human problems and the nature of democratic group relations. Most technique questions dealt with group-work methods in classroom and extracurricular activities, followed by group-study procedures. Students showed little interest in carrying thought on the strategy and tactics of community planning any further than the rather brief treatment given these topics in the book.

Were we asked what the book has been about, what we expect students to get, the answer would start from the volume's dedication. The book is written for preservice and inservice teachers, written so that it will, if possible, be understood and carry conviction. A kind of schooling called life-centered learning is coming into existence, with the school assuming many new community-service functions. The aim of the volume, in a word, has been to canvass the contributions that can be expected from educational sociology in the development of teacher-leaders of group thought and action.

Beneath this brief statement, there is a line of reasoning which we wish every student would check. Since all social behavior is learned behavior, the importance of education in our society can be taken for granted. It is the way every society "renews" itself, to repeat a phrase. From a psychological standpoint, it is the way persons develop into full-fledged human beings, acquire and achieve the roles they play. There is no conflict in these two views, each being an aspect of the same thing, the inclusive educational process.

Most education is, obviously, carried on or carried out in the various groupings of which one is a member. One such group is the school where learning takes the form of guided, systematic instruction. A great deal of our thought has centered on schooling in relation to community culture, the newer views of school service functions, the newer group-work ways of solving learning problems.

In all of this detailed thinking, it is important that education's two great functions not be forgotten. One is the selective transmission of the social heritage, a sifting and sorting of cultural elements in terms of the current and anticipated needs of our society. The other is that of fitting individuals for participation in that society, for discovering and developing talent of every kind. It was at this point, and on the basis of talent advancement, that the class bias of schools was criticized.

From a very practical standpoint, the teacher-leader with whom we are concerned will like people; otherwise he can be of little help to them. He will know his subject field, whatever it may be, yet he will see that teaching is a matter of communication, hence involves problems in human relations. He will know that people see, not through their eyes, but through their minds, their past experiences, and that learning starts with changes in perceptions. Perceptions do not change when people are under attack or when they are punished so that motivation is a constant need. It is here that group work, guided by group study, makes its significant contribution, for almost all people want the kinds of satisfactions that can come only in and through group participation. What the teacher needs to do is to learn to use the group for the education of its members.

While the teacher will know group-work techniques, he will realize more and more that his own personality is his most effective instrument for inducing changes in other people. A good teacher is simply *a good person teaching*. His own education has been viewed as a process of personality development, of setting goals and moving toward them. In this process, he will be conscious of campus learnings, along with those of the classroom. In his first year of teaching in particular, he will pay close attention to his community role. Throughout his years of teaching, he will regard himself as a growing, changing person, adventuring deeper and deeper into a satisfying mode of life.

GROUP STUDY IN TEACHER EDUCATION

While it is not customary for authors to criticize their own work—in fact they lack the perspective to do so—we want to go on record as noting two major shortcomings. In spite of the

space devoted to group study and group work, students ask for more, and more functional, information. They want to know, for instance, how to make an attitude scale or conduct a socio-drama. This is strikingly true of inservice teachers, faced with the demands the job makes on them. While we can add a bit to what has been said, detailed discussion must await further writing. The need is for small books on group study and group work, manuals of technique, simply written with the aim of furthering use and action.

On occasion, reference has been made to the College Study in Intergroup Relations, a four year study-action project in teacher education.⁶ Volume II of the final report on this work will carry a list of the study forms used by participating teacher-educating institutions. While these instruments are rather specialized in terms of interracial relations, intercreedal, social class, nationality heritages and rural-urban differences, inspection of sample forms will show the lines along which group study appears to be moving.

It is in the construction and use of forms like these that students need experience, for study making is like any other skill in at least one particular. It cannot be learned out of a book, although books are most helpful. It can be learned only by sweating through small pilot inquiries, by actually framing concrete situations for investigation, devising study forms, administering them, and processing the data. Stress should be placed on the sequential steps just listed rather than on involved statistical processes as taught by specialists. We assume that study makers know statistics up to simple correlations, and we imply no criticism of advanced statistics. The more one knows about this way of reasoning, the better prepared he is to give help on complex group-study problems.

⁶This project involved 24 teacher-educating institutions in all parts of the nation. Work was under the direction of the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education, with Karl W. Bigelow as chairman, and financed by a grant from the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Vol. I of the report, *College Programs in Intergroup Relations*, has been published by the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., and Vol. II, tentatively titled *Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education*, will appear after midyear in 1950.

A PARTIAL LIST OF GROUP STUDY FORMS
USED IN COLLEGE STUDY WORK

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Individual Case Study
Anecdotal Record
Student Weekly Log
Guided Life History | 5. Information Test
Knowledge about Inter-
group Relations |
| 2. Group Study Forms
Confused Story Technic
Group Observation Form
Group Description Form | 6. School-Community Surveys
Community Resources In-
ventory
School Practices Survey
Adult Paths of Life |
| 3. Experience Inventories
Experiences with Negroes
Personal, Community
Mooney Problem Check
List
Raths' Wishing Well Test | Occupational Rating Scale
Pupil Time Uses, Interests |
| 4. Attitude Inquiries and Scales
General, Composite Scale
Remmers' Attitude Scale
Likert-type Scales
Stereotyping Test
Social Distance Test | 7. Sociographic Study
Ohio Social Acceptance
Scale
College Study Tests
Who's Who Test |
| | 8. Projective Test
Human Relations Test |
| | 9. Course Evaluative Forms
Group Process Education
Over-all Course Evaluation |

The above list of study forms includes both objective and subjective ways of gathering data, the latter being more dependent upon insight than upon a standard method. Sociographic research will illustrate both approaches to study making. One can make tables on friendship data, a statistical report of findings, and he can draw group sociograms, as in the Crestview study. The first is highly standardized, the second still chiefly "by guess and by golly." A tentative diagram can be quartered and then ringed with circles. Most chosen persons are put at or near the center, least chosen in the outer area, with others located between these extremes. Yet, when lines are drawn to show the general pattern of choices, overlap is very common and a student tries one "fit" after another, seeking the arrangement that does least violence to the data. While a group diagram can be no more than a proximation of reality, it has advantages over a table as a means of communication.

One further reference to the study forms may be made in passing. In listing individual case study, we had in mind the ways in which persons mirror groups. One can study any kind of grouping, including whole communities, via the individual life-history approach.⁸ The "boy's own story" technique, as illustrated in the chapter on delinquent gangs, reveals the world to which a child responds, the social relations of importance to him. It shows also the inner nature of his response, the attitudes and values shaping personality, and it presents the flow of experience in a sequential order so that time trends may be seen.

SKILL TRAINING IN SOCIODRAMA

In respect to group work, in distinction to group study, we need not repeat the methods and means in common use, as outlined in Chap. 14. Of great promise in teaching is the *sociodrama*, a form of group discussion which in some ways is unique among teaching methods. It does not, of course, replace other methods; in fact its greatest use will likely be to supplement lecture and discussion techniques.

One reason for the sociodrama's growing popularity is its flexibility. It can be used in any classroom, extracurricular, or community situation where social learning is desired. It can be varied greatly in form and function, depending on learner needs and situational opportunities. It can be taught through incidental class sessions and taught well enough to give prospective teachers the confidence needed to experiment in its use. One's skill will improve greatly through practice, drawing from the method potentials which may not at first be sensed.

There are many wrong ways to introduce a sociodrama. One does not say, "Now, let's have fun," or this is "a play, a drama," or try to create a mystical atmosphere. A group should be oriented as briefly, as matter of factly, as possible. The teacher-leader can speak for a moment about discussion, which has always been the basic teaching method. Sociodrama is a form of group discussion, a useful supplement to regular classroom

⁸ John Dollard, "The Life History in Community Studies," *American Sociological Review*, 3 (1938), 724-737.

techniques. In the sociodrama, roles are taken, parts are acted out, just as people in real life would behave, and all without rehearsal or other preparation. Sociodrama depends upon the spontaneity of participants, their willingness to take part, to devise roles in line with reality. Thus, its success or failure rests more upon the group than upon the leader.

To begin a sociodrama, the group needs a problem of common interest. Unless the situation is completely unstructured, the teacher-leader will know the general area of concern, for example, a campus problem, school discipline, school-community relations, faculty attitudes, and so on. As problems are named by group members, they are listed on a blackboard, after which the leader makes a selection of the one most suitable for study. All of this must be done with dispatch, else time will permit little demonstration. Other things at all equal, it is best to work on a process involving various persons in a series of interrelated acts.

To illustrate what has been said, consider a concrete case. Among the problems listed by a graduate class in education, one concerned a Negro teacher in a Detroit school. This problem was contributed by the principal of the school who seemed to have no inhibitions in discussing it. The Negro teacher was a Wayne University senior, a math major and an honors' student. She was described as a very well-appearing person, cooperative and professional in her outlook. She was the first and only colored teacher in this all-white school, hired in an emergency situation on a half-year contract and without tenure. These facts were contributed by the principal in response to the leader's request for "more information" about the teacher. The principal was guided in the narration and kept from telling how the problem developed or how it all came out.

With this background sketched, the principal was asked if he had interviewed the teacher applicant before accepting her on the staff. His affirmative reply created a situation for the first sociodrama. What would this interview be like? Assuming that all credentials were in order, recommendations good, etc., what would the applicant be asked? What would she ask about? How would the interview be conducted? And then, to get things going, who will be the principal in this case? The

teacher applicant? As each participant was selected, his orientation was tested by a few questions on the school situation, his role, and the like.

After this scene had been run, the class was asked for comments. What was good about it? What could be done better? When hands went up on the second question, a student was invited to show the class what he had in mind, to play a character part, and the interview was run again. By this time, the atmosphere had changed from one of doubt and embarrassment to that of serious problem solving, with students taking turns at showing the class how the situation should be handled. Few discussants saw any unusual problem in the case, treating it as a rather routine job-seeking interview. Finally, a Negro student in the principal's role depicted a new level of sensitivity when he began a line of questions on how the teacher would react to prejudice, on whether she could do good work if conditions were adverse.

At about this point, the real principal was asked to tell what had happened next in the case. He was stopped as soon as he had said that "pupils began to talk about the teacher." What did they say? Did some disagree? We ran this scene several different times, sounding out class ideas as to feeling tones in the school. Next, the principal said, "A boy told his mother about the teacher and she came storming into my office, demanding the teacher's discharge." This scene differed from others in that it called for expressive action of an emotional sort, hence was most revealing of student role-playing ability. It raised, of course, a very crucial question for all teachers, namely: how does one handle an angry parent, a parent with whom it is impossible to reason?

Other scenes followed, ending with a community meeting called by the president of the schoolboard, the final action in the real-life case. The class was asked to cast this meeting, to say who had a stake in the matter and should be represented. To keep thought clear, the teacher-leader drew a blank diagram on the board, similar to Fig. 32. As the class named individuals (teacher, principal, mother, etc.) and interests (P.T.A., Property Owners' Association, C.I.O., N.A.A.C.P., Urban League)

they were written in, an exercise that always proves to be a good test of what students know about the community where they live. The character of the community meeting can be judged by an excerpt from a verbatim record.

A COMMUNITY SOCIODRAMA: OPENING SCENE

BRD. PRES.: Ladies and Gentlemen. We have met as friends and neighbors to review a matter of grave importance. . . . Our community is a wonderful place to live. . . . As president of your schoolboard, I have lived here man and boy for 50 years and I have always served the Northside. That is why I am a candidate right now for City Council on the Repub. . . .

CIO REPRS.: Mr. Chairman, MISTER Chairman. We are not interested in your campaign for office. We are here to tell you and all the schoolboard members exactly what we think. Miss Smith (colored teacher) is a qualified person. Your own principal says that. I ask that anyone here wanting her fired bring his charges out in the open.

PARENT: Well, we've never had Negro teachers and we don't want them teaching our children.

BRD. PRES.: I would like to hear from Mr. Miller. Foster P. Miller is, as you know, one of our oldest and most respected citizens.

MR. MILLER: I represent the business man's point of view, and also the Property Owners. We didn't have colored teachers in our schools when I was a child and we do not need them now. Can't the principal find a white teacher?

PRINCIPAL: Yes, I suppose that could be done. But you know we were not thinking about that. We were thinking about the best teacher we could get. We were thinking, too, about what the world is like, the many kinds of people in our city. . . .

2ND PARENT: That is what I say, too. We are either a democracy here or we are not, and we have to make up our minds on that. I say what are the charges against this teacher?

This class, it should have been said, met once a week for a two-hour session, and the work described took about three hours. After talking over the community meeting, several students wanted a sociodrama on the discussion process itself, the roles found in almost every discussion group, the techniques of resolving differences, of winning assent, and dealing with minority elements.

It was agreed to use the community-meeting situation, rather than to select a new problem, and the same blank diagram (Fig. 32) was put on the board. Class and leader, through discussion, filled in the roles to be represented, characters that "appear and reappear" in every discussion. Discussants were then assembled in a panel, and each was handed a small card. These cards defined very briefly a variety of specific roles, for instance, "big-time operator," conservative, radical, silent partner, agreeer with everything, idealistic stargazer, integrator of ideas, work dodger, "unity at any cost," facilitator of action,

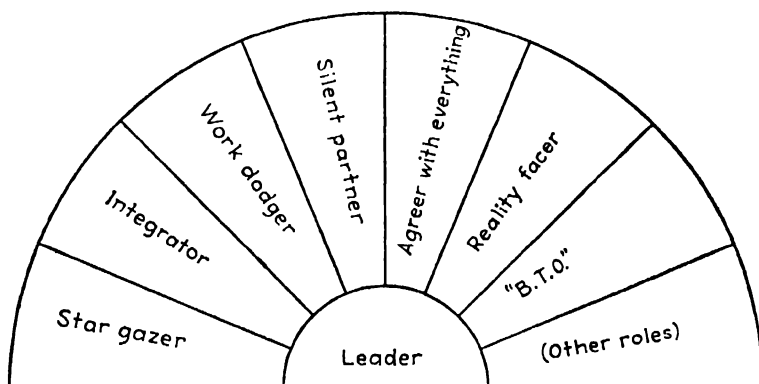


FIG. 32. Illustrative roles in a sociodrama on the group discussion process. Chart is drawn on board and filled in as classroom group identifies roles that have been taken by students in a demonstration sociodrama.

irrelevant idea man, and so on. After each discussion was run, the college class was asked to identify roles and to analyze them. Then, to vary the work once again, students demonstrated different group-leader techniques in efforts to resolve conflicts in panel ideas and viewpoints.

In addition to its wide applicability, the sociodrama is unique in the skill training it provides. Consider a single composite category, one much neglected in conventional teacher education, face-to-face communication skills. We do not mean the academic patter of the classroom but rather the ways in which people, via voice, words, and gestures, relate themselves to people, seek to give them the guidance they may need.

Given a recording of student participation in several socio-

dramas, what can be said about voice characteristics? The speed of sound, rhythm, pitch, intensity, quality, and changes? Next, what is the literal meaning of words, the precision of language as a tool of thought? Third, the projective significance of words? Does word usage tend to further thought, offering wide choice ranges, or does it stop thinking, closing doors before they are fully opened? In the fourth place, what is the structure of the language—pedantic, immature, florid, illiterate, compulsive, confused? Fifth, what of its emotional content—slips of the tongue, guarded values, irrelevant wanderings, sudden shifts in ideas, repetitions, idiosyncratic usages? Obviously, such analysis has a place in teacher-leader training. It can provide a firm foundation for much group and individual guidance work.

What has been said about words can be said about bodily movements. Are participants in a sociodrama relaxed or tight, self-conscious or at ease, having fun or enduring pain? As the spotlight falls on them, how do they react to the full force of group attention? Do they lean on something for support, or sink down in their chairs, or hide behind some barricade, protecting themselves from physical assault? What are the bodily planes, forward or reverse, as if persons were pulling an audience toward them or pushing it away? Aside from clinical symptoms, such as blushing, extreme perspiration, trembling, fidgeting, dryness of the mouth, little is known about bodily postures. From a common-sense standpoint, it is hard to doubt their importance as indications of mental and emotional abilities. Moreover, communication starts with words only in college classrooms. In life, the "feel" of a person, the effect of his appearance and behavior, precedes words. It colors them and gives them in many cases their final meaning.

SCHOOL STAFF RELATIONS

Once college is over, students find jobs. Their education, instead of ending, in a sense begins. Judging from over a thousand papers by experienced teachers, the first year of teaching was their hardest year; yet it was the year of greatest learning. What they learned were the specifics of the job, the exact work

conditions under which their services were wanted and rewarded. The common complaint of the young teacher was: "Why wasn't I taught this in college"; or "What was taught me could not be used"; or "Why so much theory and so little practice." While we hold no brief for overdoses of theory, much that a teacher must know can be learned only on the job, a fact that has led many colleges to work out cooperative programs with environing public schools which go much beyond the usual stint of practice teaching.

Of all that appears in student papers, we want to examine only one item, teacher relations with and reactions to the authority under which they work. What is said will be truer of large urban school systems than of smaller places where primary-group contacts are common; yet its implications should be kept in mind for all average schools.

The most striking conclusion to be drawn from these papers is *the tremendous gap between what a teacher's position is and what it ought to be*. The latter judgment is based only in part on college classroom theory. Mostly, it comes from a concern for teacher mental health and effective professional service. This difference between what is and what ought to be explains in part the wide range of names which schoolboard members, school heads, supervisors and the like, have been called—shall we say informally—when teachers speak or write in confidence about their "bosses."

Teachers everywhere have to get results, much as in any other mass productive system. They must be on time, work full time, keep discipline, attend faculty meetings, watch study halls, supervise extracurricular programs, participate in community activities, in sum keep production up. While this is true of every kind of job, teachers work under conditions conducive to great strain. Reference is not to physical conditions, as bad as they can become. It is, rather, to the social relations under which teachers work, the varied and conflicting roles they must play, the speed of action, the unclear status of the teacher in the school system. .

Judging still by the papers we have seen, teachers worry a great deal about what their school heads, supervisors, and the

like will say, how they will react if things are done in ways that professional training dictate. Teachers affirm that they are responsible for work over which they have no real control, that they are not consulted on important matters, that they seem to count for little as persons, that they are less influential in school administration than teachers used to be. Time and again they refer to themselves as a "cog" in the school machine.

In all the school, there is no human relation more fraught with significance than that of the teacher to his superiors. It is here, in interpersonal relations, that most breakdowns in communication occur, that low morale in a school finally shows up. It is here that emotional disturbances grow intense and personal insecurities are revealed. Up and down the line of command, persons of lesser status feel the need to adjust to the demands of superiors, to seek their approval, to do nothing to disturb the top brass. On the other hand, what authority does is overtly approved, although it may be secretly protested. Everything is appraised in terms of the teacher's relations to the central office. Failure of the school head to say good morning to a teacher can upset her for the day.

We imply in all of this no sweeping criticism of authority, and no condemnation of teachers. At faculty meetings in particular, one sees that teachers handle the situation in quite different ways. Some keep out of harm's way, maintaining a stony silence on over-all school affairs. Some grow voluble in the boss's presence, inventing ways of directing attention to their own good works. Others engage in a kind of double talk, a meaningless patter of inanities and irrelevances the import of which is to assure the school head of the speaker's loyalty. Still others, the professionally minded teachers, deplore the present state of affairs and work mightily for a change.

All of this and more will be part of a student's learning when he begins his teaching work. To hold that the picture is pretty dreary is to ignore two important points. One is probability. A teacher can, if lucky, make his own selection of the kind of school system in which he wants to work, a school system different we hope on every count from the pattern described. Such systems do exist, and we like to think that they are increasing

in number. Point two has to do with reality. Throughout the volume, we have hewed close to this line. Our writing has not been to persuade young people *against the facts* to enter the nation's school family. We do not speak as outsiders, critics of education, but rather as members of the family. Teaching happens to be where, by choice, our lot is cast, so that we write as teachers to other teachers for the improvement of school-work.

The moral of this section is that a teacher's role in any school, his relations to authority, should not be the way it is described in the papers we have read. The beginnings of change, so far as we have seen, come when a school staff starts to think of itself as a staff. Of all the groupings in a school, the faculty knows less about itself than about almost any classroom and nonclass group. It is less prepared in attitudes, in status feelings, to study its operations, weaknesses, and strengths. For one thing, administrative leadership seldom points the way, and teachers themselves are usually powerless to act.

Where faculties have organized for work on urgent school problems, where time is made for meetings and meetings conducted as free discussion groups, one will usually find a great lift in staff and school morale. Unaccustomed to such reality, staff members may at first fumble and grumble about. Improvement here is quickened in various ways, and on one in particular we want to comment. This is the appointment of staff members to act as group observers, to hold a mirror up to the group in which it can see itself.

One kind of group observer is a "process" observer, a person who reports on the human relations that were seen or can be inferred in a specific time interval. How many staff members participated in the discussion process? Where did discussion seem to bog down? How did it move ahead? The other observer is a "product" observer. What progress was made toward the solution of the problem under consideration? Was this solution in line with evidence or based on other considerations? It takes skill to do group observation, and one has always to judge the reality level on which a staff is accustomed to act. Any observation report is bad if it inhibits further staff action. The aim is

not to criticize the group but to aid the group in taking stock of itself.

A TEST OF FITNESS

Teaching is a profession, an honored profession in every land. As a profession it sets high requirements for entry, and it makes constant tests of the fitness of its workers. As we reflect on consultant work with schools and colleges, a panoramic picture flits through the mind. What tests of fitness to be a teacher have we met? Of all the tests, which one has proved the hardest to pass, the one where failure has been most evident?

The above question is a hard question, one to which we have given thought in framing an answer. Teaching for us has always been a way of working with people, of learning from them and helping them to learn. In this process, we have felt it imperative to find out about people, to study them in school and outside. The test we have in mind, the one on which we are most inclined to rest the case so far as the school sociologist is concerned, can be simply put. When one finds out what people are really like—and they come in all shapes and sizes—*can he still like people?*

If the answer is in the affirmative, one can work with these people. He will not be disappointed in them, or insulted by them, or try too hard to hurry them along. He will never give them up as potential learners, seeking always to improve his approach, to discover a better teaching method. In each, he will find something to admire, to respect, to be hopeful over. Such a faith is, we believe, the essence of our profession, the faith that makes each day a new adventure in understanding people.

Problems and Projects

1. Scan a number of educational-sociology textbooks. Would you agree that educational sociology is still "whatever it is said to be"?

2. Set up a panel discussion on "the job of the school sociologist" at either grade-school, high-school, or the college level. Illustrate each point as it is made so that the work he is trained to do will be clearly understood by class members.

3. Arrange a sociodrama in which a school sociologist serves as a consultant to a school faculty on some school or school-community

problem. Show in successive scenes how the group will be organized for work, how problems that arise as action gets going will be handled, how the group will be taught to make use of all its resources.

4. Report to class on the "complacency-shock" method of working with indifferent, busy, and unconcerned people. Read Leland Bradford and Paul Sheats, "Complacency Shock as a Prerequisite to Training," *Sociatry*, 2 (1948), 37-46. Discuss the strong and weak points of this method.

5. Develop a student-made plan for reviewing the total course from beginning to end. Take a full class period for this review, asking the professor for comments and reactions ten minutes before the hour is up.

6. Would you like to do further work along the lines developed in the present course? What courses offer you the opportunity? What are special points of emphasis in each of these courses?

7. Have you ever participated in either a campus or field centered workshop for experienced teachers? How does this method of study differ from the ordinary college class? Read and report on Virgil E. Herrick, "Workshop Patterns and Processes," *Childhood Education*, 24 (1948), 426-429.

8. Do you believe, too, that there is "a tremendous gap between what a teacher's position is and what it ought to be" in average schools? How could a school staff take steps to close this gap, to create work conditions under which they could render maximum services?

9. As a final class project in the course, would you care to develop a class letter to the authors at Wayne University, Detroit, appraising the book and offering suggestions for its improvement? This could be done by having a committee summarize the written reactions of individual students.

10. What personal "tests of fitness" to be a teacher do you now hold up for yourself, the things you actually hope to be and do and live up to?

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INDEX

A

- Academic education, assumptions of, 30-35
 - effectiveness of, 33
 - and group process, 38-39
- Action research and status research, 414-419
 - (See also Group work in education)
- Amidon, Edna P., 413
- Anderson, Howard R., 488
- Angell, Robert C., 5
- Anomie, 171
 - and solidarité, 172

B

- Bavelas, Alex, 415
- "Big John" case in teaching group action, 368-372
- Bode, Boyd H., 276, 282

C

- Caste-class system, dynamics of, 115-118
 - as general hypothesis, 111-113
 - in *Kings Row*, 227-228
 - notes on teaching, 118-120
 - school attitude toward, 265-266
 - stratifying population, 113-114
 - in Yankee City, 97-106
 - (See also Social class system)
- Celebrity as a social type, 169-170
- Chapin, F. Stuart, 144
- Charters, W. W., 9, 281
- Chicago, case study of, 152-160
 - delinquency and gangs in, 350-368

- schools in, 212-215
 - and Shaw Area Projects, 365-368
- Child acculturation (See Child socialization)
- Child gangs, control of, 363-372
 - in personality development, 350-357, 371
 - plan of study of, 372-373
 - and street life, 357-363
- Child socialization, case studies in, 226-234
 - and delinquency, 363-365
 - a general theory of, 234
 - outline for study of, 234
 - and plight of youth, 278-281
 - and the school, 244
- Citizenship education, 349
- City community, "livability of," 66
 - position of, in our corporate life, 139-140
 - (See also Larger urban community; Metropolitan community; Small-city community; Villagetown community)
- College life, continuity of, 458
 - interpretation of, 466-468
 - athletics, 459-461
 - dating, 461-463
 - group action, 463-466
 - guidance, 479-481
 - personality types, 475-478
 - social learning, 478-479
 - and local communities, 469-470
 - and student assimilation, 470-475
- College students (see College life)
- College Study in Intergroup Relations, 338, 388, 493

- College teaching, experiences and views of Robert E. Park, 24-29 and student community backgrounds, 67
test evidence on, 33-34
- Communication, 243
- Communities, backgrounds of students in, 67
change from primary to secondary, 185-188
characteristics of, 49-51
and collective life, 139-140
coordinating councils in, 412-414
and delinquency control, 365-372
in Dowagiac, Michigan, 18
educating for life in, 11-17, 368-371, 375-376, 378
leadership in, 92
number of, in United States, 61
organization-disorganization in, 145-148, 170-173
and related concepts, 60
and social planning, 91, 195-196
types of, in United States, 61-62
unity-disunity in, 5, 87, 110, 148, 177-195
and unorganized districts, 59
- Community plan of study, general 63-66
- Community power system, 135-136, 141-142, 218-222
- Community resources, bringing into school, 385-386
examples of school use of, 374-382
form for inventorying, 390-392
organizing school-use program for, 389
school study of, 384-385
solving problems in use of, 392-397
values in use of, 386-389
viewpoint toward, 382-384
- Community school, definition of, 273-276
philosophy underlying, 282-284
preparation for teaching in, 41
- Community school, types of community relations with, 202-204, 210-211
(*See also* Schools; School and community coordination)
- Community-school cases, 10-19, 204-209
- Community spirit, measurement of, 143-145
teaching of, 368-371, 375-376
- Cooley, Charles H., 186, 190
- Coordination of camp, school, and community, 380-382
- Counts, George S., 212-215, 282
- Course planning, college, 41
- Coyle, Grace, 321
- Crestview experiment, 322-338
(*See also* Group dynamics)
- Culture, definition of, 8
lag in, 191
- D
- Davis, Kingsley, 235
- Delinquency, child, 363-365
(*See also* Child gangs)
- Democracy, in group work, 314-315, 321-322
as type of child group, 339-340
- Dewey, John, 26, 37, 243, 281, 283-284
- Disunity, community, symptoms of, 4
and value conflict, 6
(*See also* Community; Unity-disunity)
- Dollard, John, 119, 495
- E
- Educability, definition of, 261
in average schools, 261
outline for discussion on, 262
as predictive measure, 262-265
- Education, as academic learning, 277-278

- Education, for better human relations, 306
 as experiencing, 29
 functionalism in, 282-283
 functions of, general, 14
 as life-centered schooling, 272-276
 Educational films on group work, 341-342
 Educational sociology, amount of, taught in public schools, 487-489
 backgrounds of, 485
 functions of, general, 486-490
 and general sociology, 9
 group study in, 492-495
 learning outcomes in, 33
 types of, 485
 Environmental resources, school-use programs, 11-18, 375-382
 (See also Community resources)
 Evaluation, of college courses, 33-34
 of teaching methods, 388
- F**
- Fairfield County, Ohio, 85-86
 Films (see Educational films)
 Fuller, Richard C., 406
- G**
- Gist, Noel P., and Clark, C. D., 180
 Greenhoe, Florence, 438
 Groups, achievements of, 320-321
 conflict among, 5
 democratic, 339-340
 development of play, 240-242
 evaluative data on, 315-316
 functions of, in personality development, 310-311
 leader behaviors in, 318-319
 morale in, 320
 as social systems, 309
 special interest, 5
 and street play, 363
 structure of, 8
 Group action, as frame for problem solving, 407-408
 (See also Group work in education; School and community coordination)
 "Group Atmosphere" experiments at University of Iowa, 313-322
 Group dynamics, atmospheres, and leader roles, 313-316, 318-319
 and changes in group structure, 322-338
 in the Crestview experiment, 322-338
 and group achievement, 320-321
 and group sociograms, 325-329, 336
 and reactions, to autocracy, 316-317
 to democracy, 317-318
 to *laissez faire*, 318
 and risk calculation, 420-422
 Group guidance, of college students, 479-481
 and individual guidance, 329-332
 as group management, 332-337
 (See also Group work in education)
 Group process, defined, 309-311
 Group study, in community resource use, 384-386
 formal instruments in, 494
 informal approaches to, 372-373
 and interviewing, 395-397
 making study forms for, 393-394
 process and product observers in, 503-504
 as risk calculation, 420-422
 as status and action research, 414-419
 and writing final report, 397
 Group work in education, central thesis of, 306-307, 322
 in the Crestview project, 322-337
 improving output of, 345-347
 as integration of isolates, 307-309
 in Iowa atmosphere experiments, 313-322

Group work in education, and leader
 suggestions, 345-346
 means and methods of, 38-39, 340,
 342-345
 nature of, general, 8, 306-307
 review of literature on, 306
 as risk calculation, 420-422
 and teaching community, 368-372

H

Hamlets, number of, 62
 (See also Village community)
 Hart, Joseph K., 283-284
 Hatt, Paul K., 421
 Havighurst, Robert J., 249
 Hayes, Wayland J., 91
 Hicks, Granville, 83-84
 Hollingshead, August B., 249
 Hollow Folk, case study of, 51-58
 life and culture of, 58-59
 as an unorganized district, 59
 Home and family living, revising a
 course in, 377-378
 (See also Chicago; Hollow Folk;
 Middletown; Plainville; Yankee
 City)
 Human relations in the school, 338-
 339
 improvement of, as major aim in
 educational sociology, 9-10, 490-
 492

I

Industrial conflict, resolution via ac-
 tion research, 415-419
 strike as expression of, 110-111
 Intelligence tests, recommendations
 for improvement of, 267-269
 and social class biases, 58-59, 264-
 265
 Intercreeedal understandings, develop-
 ment of, 480-481

J

James, William, 25-26, 37

K

Kelley, Earl C., 31-32
Kings Row case study, 226-230
Kitty Foyle case study, 230-234
 Koeninger, Rupert C., 33
 Komarovsky, Mirra, 145-146

L

Larger urban community, in our cor-
 porate life, 139-141
 and local power system, 141-142
 and Middletown case study, 122-
 138
 organization-disorganization in,
 145-148
 participation and community spirit
 in, 143-145
 social class in, 133-135
 types of members of, 142-143
 (See also Metropolitan commu-
 nity; Small-city community)
 Leadership, and local power systems,
 135-136, 141-142, 217-222
 need for, in community life, 92
 and teacher roles in group work,
 221
 (See also Group work in education)
 Learning as change in people, 35-38
 (See also Social learning)
 Lewin, Kurt, 305, 313, 414, 415-419
 Linton, Ralph, 5
 Lippitt, Ronald, 314
 Lively, Charles E., 86
 Lundberg, George A., 141-142, 306
 Lynd, Robert and Helen, 122, 138

M

McKay, Henry D., 365
 Masters, Hugh K., 379

- Maul, Ray C., 429
 Metropolitan community, anomie
 and solidarit  , 171-172
 the celebrity, 169-170
 the Chicago case study, 152-160
 decline of New York City, 161-163
 functional unity of, 170-171
 hinterland regions of, 160
 life and personality in, 167-169
 origins and structure of, 164-167
 outlook for the future of, 160-163
 zones of growth of, 154
 Middletown, case study of, 122-138
 (See also Larger urban community)
 Miller, Neil, and Dollard, John, 239
 Mills, C. Wright, 189
 Monroe, Ruth L., 475

N

- Nettler, Gwynne, 8
 Newburyport study, 97-110
 (See also Small urban community)
 New York City, decline of, 161-163
 growth of, 164-165

O

- Olsen, Edward G., 273, 449

P

- Parents, ways of working with, 342-344, 454
 Park, Robert E., views on teaching, 26-30
 Personality, changes in, 371, 387, 474
 concept of, 8
 development of, in delinquents, 349-363
 in large cities, 167-170
 learning role content of, 237-239, 242

- and social class, 477
 social motivations of, 116-118
 of students, 475-478
 conscientious-rigid, 475, 477
 temperamental-scattered, 475
 of teachers, 451-455
 voice control, 500
 bodily movements, 500
 in towns and cities, 143-144
 in villages, 82
 (See also Social learning)
 Personality needs and interests, 193, 274, 301-303
 Personality roles, achieved and ascribed, 235-237
 in sociodrama, 335, 499
 Plainville, U.S.A., case study of, 71-82
 social classes in, 88
 (See also Village and town communities)
 Population, urban migration, 179-185
 Power system, social, 135-136, 141-142, 217
 viewpoints toward, 218-221
 and zones of school action, 221-222
 Primary community, defined, 186-187
 disunity of, theories, 188-195
 from, to secondary ways of living, 4-7, 184-188

Q

- Queen, Stuart A., 7

R

- Reading materials for children, 398
 Regions, metropolitan, 160
 Risk calculation in group-action projects, 420-422
 Rocco Marcantonio, the "42" gang, 357-363
 Roles, social, ascribed and achieved, 235-237
 Rugg, Earle W., 403

S

- St. Denis, changes in static village culture, 181-185
- School and community coordination, as action research, 415-419 and area councils, 412-415 in home and family living, 377 in meeting pupil needs, 300-304 origins of, 404-406 in rural and small-town communities, 18-19, 378, 401-404 suggestions for leaders in, 345-346, 418-420 structure of action in, 409-411 and year-around camps, 380-382
- School programs, cooperative changes in, 299-304 functionalization of, 292-294 staff approach to changes in, 294-304 techniques of change in, 291-292
- School sociologist, 486-490 (*See also* Educational sociology)
- Schools, authoritarian and democratic ways of changing, 291, 321 as child-holding institutions, 276-278 curriculum changes in, 281-283, 291-304 modern aims and methods in, 267-269 need for leadership in, 299, 321-322 progressive and traditional, 245 and social class biases in, 249-269 social pressures on, 212-217 as system of interacting groups, 338-340 and teacher-staff relations, 500-504 types of community relations with, 202-204, 210-211 in urban slum areas, 174, 211 views of, toward local power system, 218-221
- Schools, zones of action of, 221-222 and chance of success, 222 (*See also* Community school)
- Secondary community, nature of, 170-171 trend toward, 184-188
- Shaw, Clifford, 350 and Chicago area projects for delinquency control, 365-368
- Sloan Foundation studies, 397-398
- Small-city community, and caste-class hypothesis, 111-113 class dynamics and values in, 115-118 notes on teaching social class in, 118-120 the problem of stratification of, 113-115 as seen in Yankee City case, 96-111
- Social action, mass tactics in, 193
- Social change, and local-regional planning, 91 from primary to secondary ways of life, 185-188 strike as expression of, 110-111 as urbanization, 179-185
- Social class system, in mass society, 115-118 in Middletown, 133-135 in Plainville, 79, 88 in St. Denis, 183-184 and the school, 265-269 Elmtown case, 249-261 and student personality, 475-478 in Yankee City, 98-106
- Social institutions, 89, 107-110
- Social learning, in action research, 414-419 as change in people, 31, 35-38, 239 group-work methods of, 344 influence of Dewey and Hart on, 283-284 and impersonal media, 243-244 a philosophy of, 281-283

- Social learning, and play-group behaviors, 240-241
and role content, 237-239
- Social participation, intimacy of, 62, 83-84
in primary and secondary communities, 186-187
and social planning, 91, 195-196
statistical measures of, 143-145
- Social power system, local, 135-136, 217-218
(*See also* Power system, social)
- Social structure, 193
- Social values, 115-118
- Society as system of relations, 4
- Sociodrama, illustrative roles in, 499
in school classes, 335, 338, 386
skill training in, for teachers, 494-500
- Sociographic group-study methods, 141-142, 322-338
- Sociology, and educational sociology, 9-10
nature of, 7-9
- Stanley, the "Jack-Roller," 350-357
- Stratification, techniques of, in a community, 99, 113-114, 323
in school class, 323-325
the Warner "Index of Status" scale, socioeconomic, 114 *n.*
- Suburban community, organization-disorganization in, 145-148
- Sutherland, Robert L., 379
- T
- Taba, Hilda, 249
- Teachers, attitudes toward, 440-442
changes in teaching positions, 439-440
and community leadership, 419-420
community life of, 430-434
community pressures on, 446
conduct codes for, 446-448
- Teachers, developing leader skills in, 490-492
bodily movements, 500
voice characteristics, 500
in general community relations, 448-449
as group leaders, 39, 345-346
and means used to motivate learning, 342
national survey of, 438-439
as an occupational group, 435-438
participation in community life, 442-446
reactions of, to conduct codes, 446-448
and school-staff relations, 500-504
as sociological strangers, 451-455
skill training in sociodrama, 495-500
test of fitness for, 504
- TVA experiment, 91-92
- Thorndike, E. L., 66
- Tolley, William Pearson, 458
- Towns and villages, number, 62
(*See also* Village and town communities)
- Townsend, M. Ernest, 437
- Tyler, Ralph W., 261
- U
- Unity-disunity, in community life, 177-195
as a process, 193-195
theories of, 189-192
types of, 193-195
- Urbanism, and ruralism, 179
spread of, in United States, 179-185
- V
- Values, social, 4, 5, 8
conflicts in, 5, 6
types of, 117

- Village and town communities, business manager for, 89-90
institutions in, 89-90
population of, 82
as seen in Plainville case, 71-82
social classes in, 88, 183-184
social life of, 83-84
sociogram of, 142
unity of, 84-88
and urbanism, 181-185
- W
- Waller, Willard, 461
Warner, W. Lloyd, 96, 114, 121
Washington, Booker T., 27-28
West, James, 70
Wilson, Howard, 280
Work experience for youth, 276, 279, 385, 387
- Y
- Yankee City Study, 97-111
 caste-class in, 99-101
 ecological map of, 98
Youth, plight of, 278-281
 surveys of, 278-279
 (*See also* Child socialization)

